











# INDIA & EUROPE

COMPARED;

BEING

A POPULAR VIEW OF THE PRESENT STATE

AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

OF OUR

*Eastern Continental Empire.*

BY

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OF THE MADRAS ARMY



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## P R E F A C E.

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It has frequently struck me, in my intercourse with men of literature and science, how little knowledge they seem to have gathered in their studies of our gigantic Eastern Empire, extending from the shores of the Red Sea, over the intermediate continents and islands, to the Yellow Sea in China.

Leaving it to others to dilate on the Burmese Empire, the Indian Archipelago, and our relations with China, I have confined myself to an epitome of the several subjects connected with that portion of our Eastern dominions comprised within the continent of India. I have referred to its magnitude, and the extent of its population,—to the character of its inhabitants and their institutions,—to its resources, military, financial, and commercial,—to its public works,—its educational condition,—the form of its government at home and abroad,—the future prospects of the people,—and, finally, the chance of foreign invasion.

On each of these topics I have only touched slightly, but I trust enough to excite sufficient interest in my readers to induce them to search further, and consult the authorities which I have quoted, in order to become more familiar with a subject so full of interest, and so intimately blended with the prosperity, the strength, and the glory of England.

THE AUTHOR.

*Note.*—I had intended to add an Appendix on the Landed Tenures of India ; but I found the subject expand so largely, that I propose hereafter to finish it, and perhaps publish it in another shape.

# INDIA AND EUROPE COMPARED.

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## CHAPTER I.

### IDENTITY OF THE RACES.

THE distinction between India and Europe is in many respects so remarkable, that it appears a bold assertion to make, and no less bold theory to support, that, after all, the differences which exist are the mere result of accidental circumstances, of which climate is the principal cause. In addition to this is the barrier which a religious prejudice against foreign travel presents to the Hindu, and the absence of the use of the Press. The latter has done more for the enlargement of the mind, and for the development of the human intellect, in five centuries in Europe, than was

gained by the experience of the whole period since the creation of man.

The colour of the skin of the Hindu, and the nature of his clothing, are incidental to living under a tropical sun. The practice of sitting on the ground ; of using neither knives, forks, nor spoons, at meals, are habits common to all Orientals. Experience has taught them that vegetable diet and abstinence from spirituous liquors promote health and longevity : in which respects the Hindus differ from the inhabitants of Europe.

In physiognomy and philology, the tests of identity of races by ethnologists, as well as in other respects, they altogether assimilate. The Hindus, as well as the Europeans, belong to that branch of the human family denominated Caucasian by Blumenbach, and Iranian by Pritchard ; and appear to have emigrated from a common centre, in the region between the borders of the Caspian and the Black Sea, —held to be the cradle of the human race. Climate has affected the appearance and habits of the wanderers East and West, but they are distinguished by four peculiarities belonging to no other race of men, and which are never

found separated. These are,—1. Features; 2. Language; 3. Habits as conquerors; 4. Civil institutions. These peculiarities are now universally admitted to be common to India and Europe.

The Iranian peculiarity of feature consists in the thin straight, or aquiline nose; the plump, but not projecting lips; and the oval face. The abundance of silky hair with a tendency to curl, which is not confined to the head, but is bushy on the face, and in other parts of the body. In all these respects the Iranian differs both from the Scythian of the North and extreme East, and from the Negretian of the South and South-west. These also are totally unlike each other.

The Sanscrit language, of which India is now the seat, is acknowledged to be the base of the languages of the West. It is abundantly developed in the *Æolian* Greek, the Latin, and all the languages south of France, including France itself. It appears again, in another shape, in all the Sclavonic and Teutonic dialects, commencing with Russian, and extending to the Anglo-Saxon. In the East, Sanscrit forms the foundation of all the languages of India.

as well as many of those spoken in the Burmese empire, and the East-Indian Archipelago.

The third peculiarity of the Iranian race is, that in their early conquests, whether in India or in Europe, they invariably reduced the enemies they subdued to the condition of agrestic, but not domestic slavery. Of this practice the remnants are to be found in Southern India, and here and there elsewhere. In Europe, in Russia, in Poland, and in Hungary, and, till within the beginning of the present century, in Prussia. The history of both India and Europe show that it was at one time universal.

The fourth and last peculiarity is the introduction of municipal institutions. The remains of these are everywhere to be found in Europe, though the tendency to centralization in monarchies tends to destroy them. They have been best preserved by the Swiss nation, in the absence of regal government; and exist in greater perfection under the constitutional sovereignty of England than under any other monarchy. In India they are, in spite of the despotic rule of ages, found to be universal, but most perfect where they have escaped

Mahomedan dominion. They have been frequently partially described, but there are certain practices, rights, and privileges belonging to them, which are not generally known even to those who have spent half their lives in India.

It was not until the year 1808 that attention was drawn to the fact by Colonel Mark Wilks,\* that in the South of India the country was divided into municipalities, having within themselves all the elements of a republican form of government. The lands of each township are accurately defined, including waste, wood, and

\* Malcolm writes on the 7th September, 1817 :—

“On the bank of the Godavery and Berar.

“I have had a long inquiry into the Village Governments of this country, and find precisely the same establishment as is mentioned by Wilks, in his ‘Southern India.’ The system is not destroyed. It has continued whole and well understood through all the revolutions which have afflicted this country. It remained for us, in the pride of reform, to sweep away this useful and ancient institution, which I will venture to say, protected by our justice, was more calculated to make our territories in India flourish, than any plan our wisdom will ever suggest.

“It is a great secret to allow men to be happy in their own way, and what we term blessings become punishments when they are inflicted.”—*Kaye’s Life of Sir J. Malcolm*, Vol. II. p. 176 (note).

common; and measures are taken to insure the knowledge of the limits by a belt embracing the whole, which is subdivided into as many parts (usually twelve) as there are public officers to fulfil the civil functions of the community. The offices and the lands are hereditary and entailed, and cannot be alienated but with the consent of the direct heirs, being of age. The same rule prevails with regard to the lands of the township held by descendants of the original founders.

The village officers consist of a head man representing the mayor of Europe, a registrar or town-clerk, a Brahmin priest and his assistant or clerk, and an astronomer, who calculates nativities, constructs almanacs, indicates the seasons, and acts as schoolmaster to children under twelve or thirteen years of age; a watchman, a currier or cordwainer, a barber-surgeon, a carpenter, a smith, a potter or brick-maker, a washerman, and, where there is a running stream or artificial channels for irrigation, an officer who regulates the fair distribution of the water. Each of these officers enjoys a portion of the boundary land in free-hold, which is exempt from taxation.

The mayor and the town-clerk act in a double capacity. The former represents the community in all its transactions with the Government, and on his accession to office receives a formal recognition as its official representative in capacity of magistrate, and as collector of the public revenue. The clerk is also similarly invested, and is, in virtue of his office, bound to keep certain accounts, which are open to the Government at all times. The magisterial powers of the mayor are definite, and do not (under the Native Government) extend beyond confinement for a few hours. It is, however, competent for him to decide civil suits with the written consent of the parties, or to refer them, under specific rules, either to arbitration or to assessors acting under his authority in open court.

While it is a recognized principle of sovereign right that all land not included in any township belongs to the Crown, yet, when once established, that right merges simply into a claim on the produce, a fixed portion of which is assigned to the State. The amount appears at one time in India not to have exceeded a twelfth or a tenth part, but under

special circumstances might legitimately be extended to an eighth or a sixth, and in time of war or invasion temporarily to a fourth.

These divisions of the crops take place after deducting one-tenth, which is partitioned according to a definite rule among the village officers. This portion, with their freeholds, constitutes the retaining fee to secure, at least, one family of each denomination for the wants of the community, by whom they are paid for work as performed.

As the township enlarges, so do the several members of the offices or trades increase, and where it has become sufficiently important to hold markets a patent is applied for to Government; the market-day is fixed so as not to interfere with other neighbouring towns, and fees are authorized to cover the expenses of a clerk of the market, who is empowered to punish summarily by fine or confinement, breakers of the peace, and to determine cases of dispute between buyer and seller.

Cities are a congeries of townships or parishes, each of which has its market-day, and is frequently called after the day of the week

that the market is held. Such divisions, like our parishes, have their separate municipal institutions. The several trades have their separate guilds, with one or more Aldermen elect. These hold courts for the regulation of the affairs of their trade or caste, appoint assessors or arbitrators to settle their disputes, and punish by fine or expulsion from their body those who offend against the by-laws of the caste.

In short, while these communities exist, self-government never ceases.

Of all the members of the community none is so essential to the safety of the township, as the parish watchman. His business is to be always in attendance on the Mayor or Magistrate, a duty which is imposed on every member of the same caste able to perform it.

The duties of the village police as a body, are to possess the most perfect information, not only as to what occurs in the parish itself; but to attend on all travellers, to put them in the way of obtaining all they may want, to guard his or their property night and day, and to be the guide to the next village when they quit. This occupation enables the policeman to

protect the traveller, and, if attacked, to afford to the public authority every information on the subject. On the other hand, if the traveller has any bad intentions, the policeman can sometimes detect and detain the party on suspicion, and hand him over to the Magistrate; or at all events he can so accurately describe the person, that if he become an object of suspicion, the policeman can usually give important information that may lead to conviction and punishment.

When the village watchmen have leisure, they go out to hunt or shoot, and become extremely expert in tracking their game. If the footmarks are lost by the animal crossing a road or footpath, and it becomes invisible to all ordinary eyes, the hunter watches the wave of the grass that has been passed over, and seldom misses the track till he regains the footmarks. As robbers and all the rural classes travel barefoot, the police watchman can tell at once one impression from another; but, to make sure, he notches on a stick the length and breadth of the impression, and having tracked one or more delinquents to his own boundary, waits while he sends one of his comrades to the next

village, when he delivers over the length and breadth of the footmarks to the new police, whose duty it now becomes to carry the track through his boundary, and so on, till the individual or gang, as it may be, is fairly hunted down. Cattle that stray or are driven off, are almost invariably recovered by this method.

There is no police superior to the rural police of India. They are always honest and faithful to their townsmen, to whom they are bound by the strongest bonds of interest : inasmuch as they depend on them for a portion of their crops, and they know that the whole village is required either to trace delinquents out of their boundary, to deliver them up to justice if within it, or to make good, by communal assessment, the loss in case of robbery.

On Ceylon, in the territory of Travancore and in Cochin, where the Mahomedan conquest did not extend, the Government still confines its demand to a tenth portion of the crop ; elsewhere the claim of the ruling chief has usually known no limits, and sometimes even half of the produce has been exacted. Both

the Hindu and Mahomedan law strictly enjoin that, where the landholder demands it, the tax shall be received in kind; and so well is this understood that, where land lies fallow, it is not liable to be taxed even under the British Government. This law or custom provides some corrective against public extortion, because, where it occurs to a grievous extent, the land is abandoned, and the Government loses its revenue. It has, however, been the practice under the Native Government, as well as sometimes under our own (when the land-tax revenue is realized in detail), to limit the exactions only by the means of the cultivator to pay, so as just to enable him to carry on his farm for the next year. The principle by which the land-tax is now raised by the East-India Company will be subsequently shown.

Having described the municipality, and pointed out the proprietors of the land, it is as well to state that these are not necessarily the cultivators: on the contrary, they are the free-holders, who, for the most part, underlet the whole or parts of their lands to tenants, who in some respects may be considered as copy-holders. They differ, however, from the copy-

hold tenants of England, inasmuch as they share their crops (after deduction of the tenth before mentioned) with their landlords, in consideration of which they are not liable to any taxes whatsoever, whether as revenue or in the shape of village taxes or other rates; and although they cannot alienate their copyholds, they are not liable to be ousted from their tenant right, which descends to their heirs on the terms of their permanent lease. When the founders of the village exceed one, or when one or more portions are alienated, and the commune consists of several members, the affairs of the village are managed by a council or court of aldermen, each of whom represents the members of his own clan or family. It is this board which lets out annually to tenants at will such portion of the land as may have lapsed to the township in default of heirs, or by reason of absenteeism. These tenants pay no taxes, but contribute such portion of their crops as may be agreed on, and the produce is accounted for to the freeholders at the end of the year. In many cases the proceeds cover the village expenses, and in some even a surplus remains, which is divided among the free-

holders. Thus it appears that the freehold community is alone liable to the Government land-tax under all well-regulated Native States. As every piece of land is included within the township or hamlet of a township, so is every town or city included within some Pergana or county: and as every town has its mayor and registrar or clerk, holding hereditary lands and certain immunities, as representing the commune and the Government; so has every county its chief or sheriff and record-keeper, holding lands free of tax, and receiving a commission, usually ten per cent. on the collections, which he is bound to realize and account for in detail. He is subordinate, however, to a stipendiary Government officer or collector of several perganas or counties; which constitute a district or collectorate. Under the British Government this officer is a European civil servant, acting as a chief magistrate over a population varying from six hundred thousand to a million of souls.

The climate of India, as a whole, is unfavourable to the European constitution. The mortality and morbose condition of our European soldiery, in spite of every precaution,

requires a renovation at the rate of ten per cent. annually, to keep up the effective strength. Provision is also made for the periodical return of the European officers, civil and military, to recruit their health; independent of which a very large proportion are driven home in the interval; and the whole, more or less, eventually quit situations of power and high emolument to seek repose in their native land, after an absence varying from twenty-five to thirty-five years. The same is observed of European merchants and planters. This is not the case in colonies of Europeans. Thus it is clear that India must for ever belong to the Indians. The anomaly of an active and intelligent race ruled by a handful of foreigners, who do not even settle among them, naturally leads to the conclusion that the inhabitants are a grovelling, cowardly race; but the history of India for six centuries of the Mahomedan rule, and for a century of our own, shows that in war, whether we look to our own Native army, or to the activity, the strategy, or the bravery of our Native enemies, we find them to be a race deficient in none of the qualities which constitute good soldiers.

Several circumstances have combined to the success of the English Government. It has, by the extensive employment of the people themselves, attached a considerable portion of the civil and military classes to us by the strong tie of interest. We have abstained from forcing upon them our habits or our religion. On the latter point we have been scrupulously tolerant; nor have we hastily abolished, even within our own territory, several abhorrent practices connected with sacred or domestic feelings, which practices are wearing out among themselves. We have established among the great body of the people a feeling of respect, amounting in many instances to veneration, towards individuals in power; a general sentiment prevails of the justice and good-will of the Government; and lastly, a conviction of its strength to put down at once any symptom of treason or of insurrection. Moreover, we have, more or less, made use of the machinery of self-government existing in the village institutions, though not to the full extent to which they might be rendered available.

These possess within themselves the elements

for providing education for the great body of the people, and for their personal protection. Of the former I shall speak hereafter; of the latter I may instance the state of the police in Bengal and Behar.

In the permanent settlement of 1793, the rural police of Bengal was left unprovided for. They were thus converted into robbers, who, together with thousands of small dispossessed landholders driven to desperation, revenged themselves on those who were put in possession of their lands. The only remedy seemed to be to organize an independent Government central police, at great cost, and which in Bengal alone at present consists of 169,805 individuals. Of these, 154,613 receive less than 1s. 6d. a week, and others from 2s. to 2s. 6d. a week; and yet we are told that nowhere is there a more corrupt and extortionate police, nor less security for life or property, than in Bengal. Whereas, in those parts of India where the system of village watchmen has been untouched, whether in our own territory or under well-regulated Native Governments, there is no more effective police in any part of the world.

From the preceding remarks it follows that it is our interest, as it undoubtedly is our duty, to promote the prosperity of India through the agency of its own population, and to secure to them the best government which it is in our power to confer. How far the present system affords the means of accomplishing this object,—how far the measures adopted since 1834, when the territory and its revenue were placed under the Crown, have been conducive to that end,—and what are the prospects of that vast region,—must be subjects for the consideration of the Houses of Parliament.

## CHAPTER II.

## PART I.—AREA AND POPULATION.

WHEN we are told that Continental India—of which more than two-thirds belongs to the British Crown, which holds in subjection about two hundred dependent States, governed by their Native princes,—comprises an area of a million and a quarter square miles, with a population of a hundred and seventy millions of inhabitants,—we are startled at the statement, and scarcely know how to credit it. To appreciate duly, however, the importance of these numbers, we must compare them in detail with some other country or countries with which our minds are familiar. In order, therefore, to have a clearer conception on this subject, I have drawn up a table, deduced from authentic materials, exhibiting the relative size and the number of subjects of all the empires, kingdoms, and great principalities of Europe, compared with the territorial divisions both of the

British dominions and of the Native States of India.

However astounding this comparison may appear to many, yet I shall proceed to show that the data as regards India are based on no slender foundation.

The topography of India attracted the notice of the late Mr. Hume in the year 1850, who, having become aware of the vast labour that had been bestowed on it, made a motion in the House of Commons, which was acceded to, for "A Return of full and detailed reports of the nature of the operations and expenditure connected with the Grand Trigonometrical Survey of India, and of the triangulation thereof for the measurement of an arc of the meridian, from the year the first base was measured to the latest date," &c. &c.

The report occupies sixty-one parliamentary folio pages, and affords, as may be supposed, the fullest information that can be desired on the subject. By this document it appears that the survey of India was commenced in the year 1801, with a view of measuring an arc of the meridian in east longitude  $70^{\circ} 41'$  due north to the valley of Deyra Dhoon, in the Himalaya

mountains. Its southernmost point commenced at Cape Comorin in north latitude  $8^{\circ}$ , and terminated in north latitude  $32^{\circ}$ , being a straight line of  $24^{\circ}$ , or 1440 miles. The measured terrestrial levels were corrected by means of astronomical observations, varying from 200 to 300 at each spot; and occupying on every occasion the labour of several days. The survey was commenced by Colonel Lambton, an officer of H. M.'s 33rd Foot (or the Duke of Wellington's regiment), who continued his labours for twenty-two years, till his death, which took place in his camp, with all his establishment around him, in January, 1823. He had completed the arc of the meridian as far as  $21^{\circ}$  of north latitude; and his work was so highly appreciated in Europe, that ten years before his death he received the unusual and unsolicited honour of being elected a member of the Institute of France. The continuation of the arc was carried on by Colonel Everest, of the Bengal Artillery, and was subsequently extended to its extreme length by Colonel Waugh, of the same corps.

In the mean time, lateral surveys, from parallel lines drawn from the meridional arc,

have been in the course of construction by scientific officers, on a scale of one inch to a mile. The sections are transmitted to England as they are completed, and, on a reduced scale of four inches to a mile, are printed at the expense of the East-India Company. One hundred and four sections have already been published; fourteen more are in the course of printing; and the whole, when finished, will exhibit a series of accurate maps of a vast and populous region, inferior to no publication of the kind in Europe. The maps are sold to the public at the cheap rate of four shillings each. Nor is it a slight object in a scientific point of view, to have been able to determine the exact convexity of the earth's surface towards the poles in one direction over  $24^{\circ}$  of latitude.

With respect to the census of the population, I shall take for example that of the Agra Presidency. Some tolerably correct calculations of the census of other parts of India have formerly been assumed from the number of houses, but that which was taken in 1853 went into more full details, and ascertained the number of different classes which slept in their houses on the night of the 31st of

December, 1852. The existence of the village municipalities, which contain within themselves the elements of self-government, afford an easy means of furnishing the requisite information for forming a census. Hence it happens that while the cost of making the census of England, amounting to 17,766,129 souls, amounted to £125,487. 11s. 1d. (see Registrar-General's Report), that of all India under the British Government, including 126,589,829 souls, cost no more than the price of the stationery which was used in the process.

Owing to the reported density of the Indian population, doubts have been entertained of the accuracy of such surveys, but great pains were taken in the census of 1853, and the general conviction of the governors under whom they were compiled, is in favour of their accuracy. It is true they are not in such detail, nor is the classification so complete as those required by the governments of Europe, though such a census is about to take place in 1860, yet the example of one division, viz., the North-Western Provinces of Bengal, now constituting the Agra Presidency, exhibits the density of one part, and that not

the most populous, of our Indian territory. The following remarks of Mr. H. C. Tucker, one of the officers employed in taking the census, are to the point: "Staticians who are inclined to suppose the former population returns of 641 per square geographical mile impossible, will think the number 780, given by the present census, incredible, but I believe it to be a close approximation to the truth." Take, for instance, Ghazipur in the annexed table; "where else will you find so many considerable towns within so small a space? Within 21,174 square miles in the district of Ghazipur are 268 towns containing from 1,000 to 5,000 inhabitants, 16 containing 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants, and 3 containing upwards of 10,000, of which Ghazipur itself contains 38,573 inhabitants."

## A G R A P R E S I D E N C Y.

Table of Population and Townships in the North-Western Provinces, from the Report of the Census, taken 1st January, 1853.

DISTRICTS.	Townships of less than 1,000 inhabitants.	Of more than 1,000 and less than 5,000.	More than 5,000, less than 10,000.	More than 10,000, less than 56,000.	More than 56,000.	Total Towns in each District.	Population.	No. to a Square Mile.
1. Panipat . . . . .	366	119	1	2	0	468	389,086	306
2. Hissar . . . . .	517	69	0	2	0	588	336,852	100
3. Delhi . . . . .	414	63	2	1	1	481	455,744	532
4. Rohtak . . . . .	164	110	5	2	0	281	377,014	281
5. Gurgaon . . . . .	1,043	122	4	3	0	1,272	662,496	342
6. Saharanpur . . . . .	1,328	144	5	4	0	1,481	801,325	370
7. Mozaffarnagar . . . . .	717	159	7	4	0	887	672,861	409
8. Mirat . . . . .	1,077	288	5	3	0	1,373	1,135,072	515
9. Bulandshehr . . . . .	1,368	121	6	5	0	1,478	778,342	427
10. Aligarh . . . . .	1,747	214	8	3	1	1,973	1,134,565	527
11. Bijnur . . . . .	1,900	62	8	4	0	1,974	695,321	366
12. Muradabad . . . . .	2,502	126	9	4	1	2,732	1,138,461	422
13. Badaun . . . . .	2,050	173	5	3	0	2,231	1,019,161	424
14. Bareilly . . . . .	3,152	165	3	1	1	3,322	1,378,268	442
15. Shahjahanpur . . . . .	2,008	176	4	3	1	2,190	986,096	427
16. Mattra . . . . .	771	210	7	1	1	992	662,909	535
17. Agra . . . . .	891	229	1	2	1	1,124	1,001,961	537
18. Farukhabad . . . . .	2,689	175	9	1	1	2,875	1,064,607	501
19. Meinpura . . . . .	1,150	192	9	2	0	1,553	832,714	412
20. Etawah . . . . .	1,313	96	4	1	0	1,414	610,965	364
21. Canpur . . . . .	3,314	214	6	1	1	3,536	1,174,556	500
22. Fatehpur . . . . .	1,247	145	4	1	0	1,397	679,787	428
23. Hamirpur . . . . .	663	164	5	2	0	834	548,604	245
24. Bauda . . . . .	948	192	2	1	0	1,143	743,872	247
25. Allahabad . . . . .	3,319	233	2	0	1	3,555	1,359,788	495
26. Gorekpur . . . . .	12,969	234	4	2	1	13,206	3,087,874	421
27. Azimgarh . . . . .	4,845	255	4	3	0	5,108	1,653,251	657
28. Jünpur . . . . .	2,861	178	2	1	0	3,042	1,143,749	737
29. Mirzapur . . . . .	4,246	154	2	1	1	4,404	1,604,315	214
30. Benares . . . . .	1,840	104	1	1	1	1,947	851,757	856
31. Ghazipur . . . . .	5,500	268	16	3	0	5,798	1,596,324	732
	64,967	5,642	219	69	15	70,942	30,271,885	420

The following table exhibits the density of population per square mile in the several grand divisions of territory in India, taking the average of five of the most populous and of the least populous districts of each :—

	Punjab.	Agra Presi- dency.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.
Highest average	463	678	698	324	243
Lowest average	50	200	118	117	124

The following exhibits the proportion to a square mile of the countries of Europe :—

	To a Statute Mile.	Census of
England ... ... ... 304 } Scotland ... ... ... 110 } Ireland ... ... ... 242 }	304 110 242	1851
France ... ... ... 168	168	1842
Holland ... ... ... 231	231	1836-7
Belgium ... ... ... 337	337	1836
Prussia ... ... ... 138	138	1840
Rhenish Provinces ... 250	250	1840
Bavaria ... ... ... 147	147	1833
Austria ... ... ... 143	143	1840.

## PART II.—INHABITANTS.

IT now behoves me to say a few words on the heterogeneous mass of this population. It has lately been ascertained that a vast body of the people usually classed as Hindus are not only of a different persuasion, but are entirely of a distinct branch of the human family from the other inhabitants of India. These are now very generally considered to be an aboriginal race, having occupied India anterior to the Hindus themselves. The records of the latter, undoubtedly written in India, speak of these aborigines at a period coeval with the entry of the Israelites into the land of Canaan, fourteen and a half centuries before Christ. A particular account of this race will be found in No. XIII. of the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, A.D. 1852." They appear to have been first reduced to a state of slavery, and used as *adscripti glebae*, to till the lands of their conquerors. On the formation of the Hindu village municipalities they were embodied as the police

of every village, and still inhabit straw huts outside of its walls or limits. Their duties have been before described (pp. 9, 10, 11). Many of these people were never subdued, but reside in the hills and mountain-fastnesses, their chiefs preserving a patriarchal dignity among their followers and brethren, levying tribute or black mail on all who pass through their hills, and plundering the plains on the plea of their being originally their own lands. They are remarkable for their courage, fidelity, and veracity, wherever they acknowledge fealty. In physiognomy, and in philology especially, they are tracible to the great branch of the human race termed Scythian, which includes the inhabitants of Northern Asia and China. They probably entered India, at a very remote period, by the passes of the Himalayas, and established themselves throughout the whole country. The rest of the inhabitants of India are of the Caucasian, or Iranian race. The Mahomedans, who invaded India in the eleventh, and ruled it till the middle of the last century, have the same origin.

In the numerical distribution of the inhabitants of India, I estimate,—

The aboriginal race at about one-tenth of the whole,—say	... ... ... ... ...	16,000,000
The Mahomedans at one-fifth	... ... ...	10,000,000
The several other foreigners not exceeding	...	1,000,000
Leaving to the Hindus a population of	...	143,971,480
		170,971,480

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On the invasion of the Hindus they brought with them the Sanscrit language, which seems to have spread far and wide wherever the Iranians appeared. But the aborigines had a language of their own, the construction of which has been preserved, although the words have, in a great measure, given way before the language of their conquerors. This process of absorption has been going on for more than three thousand years, and yet it has not altogether obliterated the original tongues. In the extreme South the aboriginal language (except in respect of certain terms of art and science) needs not the adventitious aid of the Sanscrit. It is chiefly by the retention of the grammatical form of the Scythian language we have been able to determine the source from whence these people came. In a period so long past, and in a country so extensive, where the vernacular

speech has relinquished the limited rules of grammar and rhetoric, we might naturally expect to find a great diversity of speech in different parts. Philologists have recognized thirteen dialects derived from the Sanscrit, which are not understood by the inhabitants of the neighbouring States; as is the case, for instance, in the languages of France, Spain, and Italy, which, though they vary from each other, are evidently derived from a common source.

The worship of the aborigines is confined to power in every shape which may affect the happiness of man. Not only are the elements, storms, and deluges of rain personified, but so also are wild beasts, venomous reptiles, epidemic and contagious diseases; each of which has its particular divinity. To these, whenever their power is felt, offerings are made to propitiate them, and assuage their vengeance. The oblations are all sanguinary; fresh blood and fermented liquor are essential, and the dearer the victim the more acceptable is the offering. There can be no doubt that occasionally human sacrifices were made, but the practice has gradually declined, and is now

only known in such parts as the influence of civilization, whether Hindu, Mahomedan, or Christian, has not yet reached. The aborigines have a firm belief in witchcraft and divination, and the influence of their priests is in proportion to their success in these arts.

The religion of the Hindus has suffered great changes since their ancient philosophical works were written, and it seems almost certain that, in order to conciliate the aborigines when they were not powerful enough to subdue them, the Brahmins tolerated and even adopted many of their savage rites. Hinduism, admitting no proselytes, is for the most part tolerant of all religions, while the Mahomedans, though they have adopted many of the prejudices of the Hindus, exhibit the same bigotry and zeal for proselytism in India as they evince in all other parts of the world.

## CHAPTER III.

## PART I.—BRITISH ACQUISITIONS.\*

IN regard to the position in which England now stands with respect to the subjugated millions over whom she holds sway, the history is neither mysterious, nor the causes wonderful, when we trace the events as they successively occurred. Circumstances, rather than any design of conquest, have placed these extensive regions in our possession. For nearly one hundred years of the seventeenth century, the East-India Company quietly prosecuted its commercial vocations under the Government of the Great Mogul, and, had it not been for the subversion of that potent monarchy after the death of Aurangzib, it seems probable that our relations with India, as with China, might still have been purely commercial. On the death of Aurangzib, in 1707, his sons and their descendants contested

\* Vide Map.

the throne with each other. Each in turn had his partisans among the powerful nobles, who held high and extensive commands over provinces containing several millions of people, which supplied armed bands to support the several rivals for the throne of Delhi. These struggles for power produced an almost uninterrupted state of civil war for many years, exhausting the strength of the partizans engaged in them, and allowing some of those chiefs, under the title of Nabobs or Viceroys, residing at a distance, to throw off their allegiance, and to form engagements with other powers, in order to give stability to their own positions. During the latter part of the reign of Aurangzib he evinced so much zeal in the cause of Islam, and displayed so much bigotry and persecution towards his Hindu subjects, that they lost no opportunity of shaking off the yoke of his rule, and recovering their independence. Among others were the nation of Mahrattas, who, led by a partisan named Sivajy, a chief of noble birth, and the son of the minister of the King of Bijapûr, drew upon him the vengeance of the Emperor. The efforts of the Mogul Government were insufficient to restrain Sivajy,

who, after a few years of extraordinary personal activity, combined with uncommon sagacity, caused himself to be crowned king, as Raja of Satara and head of the Mahratta nation, before Aurangzib's death. During Sivajy's short, but vigorous reign, he organized a system of government admirably calculated for the purpose of gradually sapping the foundation of all others. The principle of the Mahratta rule was to levy a tribute of one-fourth of the land revenue from all other States, but more especially from the Mahomedans; to demand this at the head of large bodies of horse, which passed through the country peaceably till the requisition was resisted, when they ravaged it with all the ferocity and licentiousness of soldiers let loose to plunder. The resistance they occasionally encountered taught them the importance of discipline, obedience to their rulers, and eventually the art of war. Independently of their plundering expeditions, the Raja of Satara was always ready to subsidize his soldiers, no matter in what cause, to those who paid best: so that the Mahrattas became at one time the partizans of the feeble Emperors of Delhi to protect them against their

rebellious nobles; at another they sided with the nobles against the supporters of the throne. This state of things continued for the first thirty-three years after Aurangzib's death, by which time the Mahrattas had established their claims to their fourth of the land revenue from Hindostan as far south as Tanjore, including Mysore. The feeble condition of the Mogul Emperor at Delhi, and the dissensions among his nobles, afforded an inviting opportunity for Nadir Shah, King of Persia and Afghanistan, to invade India through the Punjab, and to sack the imperial city. Having carried off unheard-of wealth in gold and jewels, besides whole colonies of the inhabitants as slaves, he went through the form of replacing the monarch Mahomed Shah on the throne of Delhi, and returned to Persia. This event took place in 1740, an era memorable in the British annals of India. At this time the southern part of India, denominated the Deccan, was in the hands of Nizam-ul-Mulk, once the minister of the Emperor, and now the Mahomedan Viceroy of a territory still held by his lineal descendant, having an area of 95,000 square miles, and a population of 10,000,000 of subjects. His vice-

royalty extended over the modern Carnatic, and along the eastern coast from Cuttack as far south as Tanjore. His deputies in the Carnatic followed the course pursued by the nobles of the Great Mogul in other parts, and claimed their independence as hereditary successors to their Nabobships. Among others was the Nabob of Arcot, within whose principality were the mercantile factories of the English in Madras and Cuddalore, and that of the French at Pondicherry. The European powers took opposite parts; the English supporting the Nabob of Arcot, who claimed the Musnud in right of succession, and the French the authority of the Nizam and of a pretender to the Nabobship, whose cause they favoured.

The European auxiliaries soon became principals in the war: they demanded payment for their services, which the Nabob, being incapable of reimbursing to the English in money, repaid by a temporary assignment of territorial revenue; while the French not only received large sums in cash for past services, but the cessions of a tract of country on both banks of the Kishna River, denominated the Circars.

The influence of the French at the Court of the Nizam, at Hyderabad, was paramount, and promised to become the origin of a great power in the heart of the Peninsula, but circumstances occurred which destroyed all these fair prospects. The mismanagement of their affairs at Pondicherry, and the energy and talent displayed by their rivals, the English, overthrew all their projects, and, in a few months, left them without an inch of territory. The limits to which I have confined myself do not permit of my dwelling on the course of the brilliant successes of the English during the succeeding period, which are matters for the historian.

## PART II.—MILITARY RESOURCES.

THE wars in which we were at first engaged, came so suddenly and unexpectedly upon us, and our European forces were so inadequate to meet the exigencies of the time, that it became necessary to entertain the natives of the country to aid us. The experiment, though bold in the first instance, succeeded marvellously;

and the confidence which we have ever placed in our Native soldiery has been reciprocated on their part by a fidelity and attachment to their colours in the most trying situations that men can be placed in. They have resisted the attempts to wean them from their allegiance, even by princes in whose territories their families resided, and which were their natural homes. They have refused, when worked in chains and ill-fed, as prisoners of war, to purchase their release by entering the service of our enemies. They have deprived themselves of part of their prison diet to feed their officers confined in unwholesome dungeons; and they have fought side by side with their European comrades, whom they have never deserted, but have been true to their standards, and have shared their fate everywhere and under every circumstance.

If, on the one hand, the sepoy has been thus distinguished for his fidelity, on the other hand it must be confessed that no Government has ever been more liberal and just towards its Native army. In addition to the ration-money (termed Batta) which they receive in the field, they have an extra allowance whenever

provisions exceed a fixed price. When employed on foreign service, on ship-board, or out of India, each sepoy has extra pay, which he is allowed, if he chooses, to leave with any member of his family, who, in case of his death abroad, becomes his heir, and receives whatever may be due to him at his death, besides a pension for life. In the Madras and Bombay armies—in the former forty and in the latter twenty-five—sons of men who have died in the regiment are received on the recruit establishment at twelve years of age, are educated in a regimental school, and learn all the duties of soldiers before they are of an age and size to fill up the vacancies which occur. This begets an attachment between the men and officers, alike natural and honourable to both.

The Indian army, according to the latest returns, consists of 51,316 Europeans of all arms, and 230,904 Natives, besides upwards of 32,300 Natives, commanded by European officers, in the service of our allies, and available for our own service,—making a total of 315,530 well-disciplined troops; and such is the desire to enlist, that it would at any time

be easy to augment the Native force to any desirable extent. In addition to this force we may calculate on the assistance of 398,918 light troops of our allies, which by treaty they are bound to furnish when called on to do so: making a disposable force of 714,439 men and officers. The European force is kept efficient in numbers by a constant succession of men to fill up vacancies, so that between four and five thousand go out annually to supply the casualties by death or incompetency. The numerical calculation of men between the ages of twenty and forty, of the Native population, gives 15,750,000 capable of bearing arms, which, at the moderate computation of one in ten—the number allowed for the armies in Europe in time of peace,—would furnish a body of 1,570,000 men.

The Emperor Acber is stated to have organized an army of 950,000 cavalry, and half that number of infantry, artillery, and artificers. In addition to which he calculated on 4,400,000 militia or police, which is about the proportion that sixteen millions of the aboriginal race, residing in the outskirts of towns as the village police, would afford. There is no other way

for accounting for this extravagant calculation. There is reason to believe, however, that the whole amount of force on paper was never actually embodied.

The operations of the Indian army within the last sixty years, have occasionally been on a large scale. In the war with Tippu, in 1799, upwards of forty thousand troops, independent of as many more allies, carried on a campaign in the field, and eventually laid siege to Seringapatam, which was taken by storm, with heavy loss. In the Mahratta war of 1817-18, the British forces amounted to 120,000 men, manœuvring over an extent of country of as many square miles, separated into thirteen divisions, to meet an extensive confederacy of several Mahratta princes. The latter appeared in the field with upwards of 200,000 men, in different parts at the same moment, and had to be promptly attacked to prevent their junction with each other. Between the months of October, 1817, and March, 1818, ten pitched battles were gained by the English (in some of which the loss was as great as was sustained, proportionately, at Waterloo), and thirteen forts and towns were reduced by siege.

These heavy losses invariably occur where the enemy's troops are trained to European discipline, as we found to be the case in the wars of the Punjab.

These facts show with what determination our Native enemies oppose us, with all our advantages of European troops and European officers. We have never found our sepoys hang back when opposed even by Europeans. A Bengal regiment stood the brunt of a charge from the French, at the battle of Porto Novo, in 1782, and drove them back. They were equally active at the battle of Port Louis, on the Isle of France; and at the Lines of Weltervieden, in Batavia, in 1811; and should it ever happen that they have to contend with Russians on our frontier, they will be found to be as staunch Orientals as those who defended Silistria and Kars, or who repulsed the Russians, in 1854, along the banks of the Danube,—with the superior advantage of being commanded by well-trained and experienced European officers.

From the extent of surface the army has to protect, its distribution lies over more than two hundred military stations. These undergo

annual reliefs of one or other branch,—the army possessing, in this respect, the great advantage of practical experience during a time of peace. The troops at every station are required to exercise together frequently. In moving from one post to another, each corps is supplied with tents, carriage, and commissariat, as if in the field; and, as these movements frequently extend to some hundreds of miles, they involve all the contingent duties of a state of war, with the exception of fighting.

On arriving at their destination, the Native troops receive hutting money to enable them to provide cover for themselves; and they are expert in all the necessary handicraft for such work.

The European officers enter the army as cadets. They are nominated by the members of the Court of Directors and President of the Board of Control, and either proceed direct to India, or enter the Military College at Addiscombe. In either case they are subjected to a strict military examination, and on their efficiency depends their appointment. All officers for the engineer and artillery corps,

after passing their examination, enter the Addiscombe College, and after a course of two years' study they are sent out to the scientific branches of the army, and take rank according to their proficiency. The college numbers 150 students, from whom about 75 are withdrawn annually. In case the demand for the scientific corps does not amount to that number, the surplus are appointed to the infantry, with date of rank from the time they leave the college. The cadets of engineers finish their education with the Royal Engineers at Chatham, and the artillery undergo additional instruction in the laboratories at their headquarters in India.

Commissions in the Indian army are not obtainable by purchase. The whole of the officers succeed, by rotation in their own corps, to the rank of field-officers, when they rise in line, but separately at each of the Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. Chance may accelerate promotion in one regiment more than in another, but no officer can be superseded by purchase. Retiring pensions are granted to the several ranks of Captain, Major, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Colonel, with

reference only to length of service; and an honorary step is conferred on retirement. Officers so retired are struck off the efficient strength of the army, and are ineligible to return to it. The regulations regarding brevet promotion are the same as in the Royal army.

No officer in the Native army is allowed to take charge of a company till he has passed an examination in the language of his regiment; nor is he permitted to hold a staff appointment till he has served three years with his regiment, and has passed for the particular department for which he is a candidate. Officers ambitious of going on the staff, are allowed to apply for an examination, and according to the certificates attained they are distinguished in the Army List by a mark opposite their names. In this way the officers of the line are frequently employed in public works belonging to the scientific branches of the service, for the construction of which there may not be a sufficient number of engineers. Division commands are open to General officers of the scientific branches of the service; and some have greatly distinguished themselves, as General

Sir W. F. Williams, of the Royal Artillery, did in the defence of Kars.

There was a time when the officers of the Royal army commanded all officers of the Company's service of the same grade. In the year 1797 Royal Commissions were granted to the latter which put them on an equal footing with their brother officers of the King's service. In the year 1819, military honours were for the first time conferred on the Company's officers. In 1836, military rank by brevet was granted for distinguished services in the field ; and after the war in China, her Majesty received eleven officers of the Company's service among the list of her aides-de-camp, by which the permanent rank of full Colonel was conferred on them. These have long since attained the rank of Generals. With the exception of these officers, the Royal Commission was limited to India alone. The inconsistency of this distinction, has however since been removed, and all officers of the Indian army are recognized as holding her Majesty's Commission in all parts of her dominions and elsewhere. The convenience of this measure was exemplified in the late war, where, in the Turkish contingents, officers of

both services served under a General officer of the Company's service in the same manner that they serve in India, and those who distinguished themselves in the Turkish service have received Brevet Commissions.

The pay of the Indian army deserves notice. On the first employment of English troops by the Company, double pay was granted to those serving in India, while an extra sum, equivalent to the ordinary pay, was granted in lieu of rations, under the head of Batta.

This practice still prevails, and causes a vast difference between the expenses of the European and Native establishments, which enables the Indian Government to support an army on a sum so comparatively small with respect to that of England.

Dr. Farr, the Registrar-General, calculates from statistical data that the expense of each soldier in England, including officers, is £100 annually, and that 10,000 soldiers consequently cost a million of money. Now, it is calculated that every European soldier (officers included) costs £100 before he joins his regiment in India; and a return which I have procured shows that about 4,765 men are required to

supply the casualties by death and of invalids, out of the 51,316 Europeans in the Indian army, so that, independent of £60,000 allowed for the purpose of providing pensions for invalid officers and soldiers of the Royal troops returned to England, a sum of £476,500 is paid annually before the European recruits join their regiments. The extra pay, the rations, and equipment of each soldier in India, cannot be rated at less than those of the soldier in England, which would exhibit the cost of the European portion of the army as follows :—

To maintenance of 51,316 soldiers and officers at £100    ...    ...    ...    ...	£5,131,600
To supplying casualties of 4,765 men at £100	476,500
To allowance for pensioners of the Royal army who have served in India    ...    ...	60,000
	<hr/>
	£5,668,100

Now, as the whole expense of the army of India, amounting to 315,520 men of all arms, is returned at £9,802,235 (a sum insufficient to support 100,000 Europeans), only £4,134,135 is left for the maintenance of 230,904 Native troops. This represents the state of the case, when the whole army is at peace. In time of

war the expenses in Continental India must be regulated by the number of troops in the field.

The Native army is made up almost entirely of Hindus and Mahomedans, while a prejudice among those castes in which the officers and the Government partake exists against the aboriginal race. Now it so happens, that in the wars of Lawrence, Clive, and Coote, in the Carnatic, the aborigines constituted by far the great majority of the sepoys. It was they who opposed Hyder Ally, the ruler of Mysore, and who gained the battle of Plassey, in Bengal, before a Bengal army existed. It was they (the Parwares of the Bombay army) who, in the siege of Mangalore, together with the 2nd battalion of the 42nd Highlanders under Colonel Campbell, defended that fortress for six months against a besieging army of forty thousand men, and consented to honourable terms of surrender only when on the point of starvation (as did the garrison of Kars), having buried within its walls more than half its numbers. The Bengies of this race, the aborigines of Bengal, constituted a portion of the infantry of the Mogul armies; and it is a fact not gene-

rally known, though nevertheless true, that they claimed the honour as the indigenes of the soil to form the forlorn hope, and the storming parties in all its desperate services. A chosen band of Bedars or Bedas, the aborigines of Mysore (whose rajahs under the denomination of Poligars held many strongholds, or baronial estates as we should call them), in our own times, formed the personal body-guard of Hyder Ally, the sovereign ruler of Mysore. They are mentioned by the historian, Colonel Wilks, in his sketches of the south of India, as the bravest and best soldiers of that country. The Minas and other original races in Central India, constitute the guards of the palace of the Rajput princes of the present day. They have none of the prejudices (occasionally so inconvenient) of the Hindus or Mahomedans, and as they may fairly be calculated at 16,000,000, they afford of themselves at present a source of 4,000,000 males between the ages of 20 and 40, to supply at any time the casualties of the Native army. Hitherto the pay of the sepoy, and the provision which is made for his comfort while in the service, and when worn out, render his situa-

tion much more desirable than that of the labouring peasantry from which class he is drawn. The army is therefore easily supplied with recruits without bounty. In the improved condition of the country, however, the labourers' wages may rise, and from other causes there may be hereafter a difficulty in recruiting from the present race of sepoyes. At such a time, the services of the aborigines may be put in requisition with the greatest advantage.

I cannot omit in this place to say a few words on the department of supply of military stores from England. The Indian Government has always found it expedient to provide the army with every requisite that can be supplied in England from the mother-country. Till the year 1834, they had a large fleet of merchantmen of their own, in which the supplies were conveyed. Broadcloth for clothing, shoes, boots, saddlery, harness for the artillery, liquors of every description, and even salted provisions for the Europeans. Then there was ordnance, including musketry, and every munition of war with the exception of powder, as well as medi-

cal stores and surgical instruments, all supplied from England. To this end a separate department exists in Leadenhall-street, at the head of which is a veteran General-officer of artillery, who has passed the best part of his life in the tented field. Under him are several clerks well paid, and whose duty it is to examine and pass every article before it is dispatched, and to superintend the careful packing of the whole in cases, both for ship-board and for travelling, frequently a thousand and odd miles, over a country with scarcely a made road. I was astonished to learn last year that out of 72,000 cases of supplies thus embarked, the returns of the several Committees of examination, after the stores reached their destination, were to the effect, they all arrived in perfect order and without damage of any kind.

It has been the practice among unreflecting politicians in India, to denounce the expense and the magnitude of the military forces in that quarter.\*

\* The population of the United States of America, according to the latest census, amounted to 23,191,876 ; and although the troops under arms in time of peace, in skeleton regiments, do not exceed 12,729 men, yet the

The armies of Germany are represented in time of peace to consist in round numbers of 376,000 men, with a landwehr or trained militia of 500,000 more.

Russia, with a population of sixty millions of people, maintains a standing army of half a million, and can send into the field a million of combatants. She has military schools in different parts of the empire, where 12,000 youths are trained to fill up vacancies among the junior officers.

France, with a population of 35,000,000, has a standing army of 350,000 men, with military

number of officers who have been trained in military schools in the several States are as follows :—

General-officers	...	...	...	...	556
Officers of the general staff	...	...	...	...	2,744
Field-officers	...	...	...	...	9,080
Regimental officers	...	...	...	...	37,342
					<hr/>
Total officers	...	...	...	...	49,722
Total trained rank and file, liable to be called out	...	...	...	...	1,873,558
					<hr/>
Total army	...	...	...	...	1,923,280

which costs in time of peace £3,139,438 : a force ready, on the shortest notice, to meet an enemy at any point of their extended line of coast.

schools for officers, out of which two-thirds of the officers are drawn, and her staff are especially educated for that branch of the service. France can also boast of a population of several millions of men who have at one time performed military duties, and who are liable to be called out in time of war, and are still fit for service.

With the facts before adduced, how can it be said that our Indian army is either unreasonably expensive or large? It was the opinion of some of the public officers examined before the Parliamentary Committees in 1853, that the Indian army was less expensive and fewer in numbers than any army in Europe, as compared with the population; and this has now been distinctly proved. When we consider its distribution on the frontier, on the coast, and in the territories of our allies for their protection, we shall find there are fewer soldiers in our own territory than in the United Kingdom, where they have been hitherto maintained in time of peace, not for national defence, much less for external aggression, but to support the constituted authorities. There can be no stronger proof of the general satisfaction of any

nation with its government, than this important and undeniable circumstance as regards India.

As the constitution of the Indian army differs essentially from that of armies of other civilized nations, especially in the number of officers to the men, a word on this subject seems here to be required. From the variety of the vernacular languages at the three great capitals of British India,—viz., Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay,—each had in the beginning to form a separate army for its defence. The amalgamation of these armies into one by the interchange of regimental officers, as has been suggested, would lead to great inconvenience and inefficiency; whereas, separated as they are under their own governments, they work as distinct bodies, unless called on to act together, when they perform their duties in common and operate as one whole. Till the year 1797, all officers of each branch of the service, rose in succession in one line, and not in regiments. The Native soldiery (in Madras especially) were transferred from the service of the Nabob of Arcot to that of the English Company, and the troops were composed of Native officers, being the gentry of the country, and

privates, of the lower classes. There was a natural relation between those accustomed to command servants, and those used to serve masters, but it was found desirable to attach European officers to each regiment, to direct its movements and to confirm its discipline. By degrees the number of European officers increased, till after the first war with Tippu, Sultan of Mysore, which terminated in 1793, some discontent arose out of the relative rank of officers of the Royal army serving in India, and the officers of the East-India Company, which was finally settled in England in the years 1796-7, when a new organization took place. That organization was the result of the mature deliberation of a Military Committee selected for the purpose, and was approved of both at the Horse Guards and in Leadenhall-street.

The European officers, who then rose in one line, were permanently distributed into regiments. The difference between their organization and that of the Royal army was, that it allotted to each regiment of cavalry and battalion of Native infantry only half as many European officers as those assigned to Euro-

pean regiments of the same strength in time of peace. This distinction arose from the assumption, that by retaining a certain number of Native officers in each corps, the place of Europeans would be supplied. The number of officers then allotted were,—one captain, one lieutenant, and half a cornet or ensign to each squadron of cavalry of two troops, and to each grand division of infantry of two companies.

In the year 1824 a new organization took place, in which the principle which had guided that of 1797 appears to have been lost sight of. A rule was then laid down that battalions of infantry should be formed into regiments, and to every corps in the army was attached an equal number of officers, without reference to its strength: namely,—five captains, ten lieutenants, and five cornets or ensigns, alike to Native and European regiments: the cavalry regiments having six troops, the infantry having eight companies, the European regiment the same; the artillery having four companies to each battalion. This rendered it necessary to separate the European regiment into two wings of four companies, thus giving to each its full complement of officers.

Since then two additional companies have been added to the Native regiments, and a sixth captain has been added to the original formation of 1797.

It was then never contemplated that the reduction of the European officers of regiments would go to the extent which now prevails; nor that it might so happen, as has frequently been the case, that Native companies of infantry and troops of cavalry should, both in time of peace, and more especially in time of war, be left without European officers. Instances, indeed, have occurred where, owing to the casualties in battle, a whole regiment has been left with scarce one European officer for duty. This should not be; and the only remedy seems to be, to secure the presence at all times of the whole of the European officers, with the casual exception of those absent on account of ill health and occasional temporary leave on private affairs.

The Native officer of the regular army of the present day, enters as a private to serve for life, on a rate of pay equal to about  $5\frac{1}{2}d.$  per diem. He is derived from that class of society which is uneducated; and when raised

to the highest grade he can attain—that of an officer of a company,—he is found rarely able to read or write tolerably, and, in many cases, unable to sign his name to an acquittance-roll. According to a very equitable principle, preference in promotion is directed to be given to the oldest soldier, excepting on special occasions. Hence it is that the superior Native officer seldom attains his rank before it is time for him to retire from active service. His antecedent life in the barracks precludes him from commanding that respect, obedience, and, above all, that attachment from his inferiors, which is due to the well-educated European officer, deriving his origin from a class of society in his own country altogether different from that of the Native officer. In all instances of discontent, and even of mutiny, the Native officer is ever found to sympathize with the men; and although seldom directly implicated so as to be open to punishment as an accomplice, it is very rare that he exercises his influence in the regiment to maintain its discipline, or support the European officers.

The Native officer holds what is termed a commission from the local Government, but he

is to all intents a warrant-officer, liable to be discharged even without a trial (a measure but seldom had recourse to), and is subjected to the command of the youngest European officer in the army.

The above description of a Native officer must convince every rational man that he forms a poor representative for the well-educated European officer commanding a company. I would by no means desire it to be understood that I condemn the establishment of Native officers in the regular army. They are usually the best men in the regiment,— invariably brave and gallant soldiers; and their position in every company holds out a high reward to the lower ranks, out of which order they are drawn. Some such boon is desirable, to induce respectable men to enter a service where enlistment is altogether voluntary.

To explain my views, and to provide a remedy for the absence of regimental officers, the following Memorandum was drawn up, in order that it might be submitted to official authority :—

**"MEMORANDUM.**

"The Native army in India consists of two separate branches differently constituted, namely, the regulars and the irregulars.

"The former is composed of 194 regiments, filled with men drawn from the lower class of society. Each company or troop has attached to it two Native officers raised from the ranks.

"To every regiment of Natives is attached, as has been shown, a limited number of European officers, compared with other armies. From these corps the regulations authorize the withdrawal of five officers for other duties, civil or military; so that 970 may at all times be legitimately withdrawn, though the public service at this moment employs the services of 1,129.

"The constitution of the irregular army differs from that of the regulars, and consists at present of 104 regiments, including those in the service of our allies, to each of which corps are attached, on an average, four European officers. They are selected on account of their peculiar fitness for such duty, and are derived from the *élite* of the army. The Native officers of these troops are usually men of good family, and often have private incomes independent of their pay. On entering the service, they bring with them a certain number of followers, and occasionally a relation or two, who, in the non-commission ranks, maintain the discipline of those below them. These junior officers succeed to the higher ranks, as vacancies occur; and the relative position of the upper and lower grades of society is thus preserved in this branch of the army. These officers are truly efficient, both physically and morally, and have, on every occasion when called into active service, conducted themselves so

as to vie with their comrades in the regular army. So useful have the irregular corps been found, that on the Bengal side of India the several Governors-General have, within the last twenty-five years, embodied twenty-four regiments of cavalry and twenty of infantry.

"Each of these branches of the service has its peculiar advantages, and there are strong reasons for maintaining the full complement of European officers of the regular army, if it were only as a nursery for the general staff, and for providing competent officers for these irregular troops. The small number of European officers present with the regular Native army has been a cause of complaint to the authorities in England, not only from India, but it has been frequently brought to the notice of committees of both Houses of Parliament by the most experienced officers, both of the Royal army and of the Company's service."

The remedy is, to maintain the complement of European officers available for duty with their regiments, and to fill up vacancies by promotion whenever an officer is permanently removed. The following rules occur to me as adequate to meet this :—

"1. A regimental officer removed to any permanent employment, military or civil, or into the service of any Native prince in India, shall be held to be supernumerary in the grade to which he now belongs, or hereafter may belong, at the time of his removal, and be only entitled to the net pay of his regimental rank, and a promotion shall be made in his room.

“ 2. In the event of an officer so removed from regimental duty not rejoining his regiment on the promotion of his immediate senior before the next vacancy occurs, he shall forfeit his promotion in the regiment, but shall be entitled to army rank as captain after 15 years' actual service and as major after 20 years', from which period he will take his place in line in the branch to which he belongs.

“ 3. An officer who may thus neglect to rejoin his regiment, shall not thereby forfeit his title to the pension to which he may be entitled on account of length of service in the army of India.

“ 4. Officers holding permanent staff appointments shall be entitled to rank in the army, according to the scale laid down hereafter. A regimental officer quitting his corps to fill up a vacancy, in the staff department or otherwise, occasioned by the temporary absence of a staff officer, shall not be held non-effective with his regiment while thus withdrawn.

“ 5. The following army rank shall be assigned to the hereinafter-mentioned grades of the general staff. The rank of colonel to heads of departments of each Presidency, viz. :—

Adjutant-General of the army.

Quartermaster-General of the army.

Commissary-General of the army.

Military Auditor-General.

Judge Advocate-General.

Paymaster-General.

Military Secretary to Government.

The rank of lieutenant-colonel to deputies of departments, that of major to assistants, and that of captain to all other

staff officers who may have served three years with their regiments.

" 6. Officers permanently appointed to irregular corps of cavalry and infantry shall come under the operation of Rule No. 1 ; and all officers under the rank of lieutenant-colonel, by brevet or otherwise, being commandants of such regiments, shall be entitled to a step, after holding the said command for three years."

In the present state of India, a measure which will certainly involve additional expense need not necessarily be carried out to its full extent at once. The principle being recognized and adopted, the first step would probably be to extend its operation only to regimental officers permanently removed from their corps on purely civil duties. The next step might include those filling civil offices belonging to the army. The third step might include the general staff.

It is an error to suppose that the present system involves no inconvenience, because officers employed away from their regiments, in time of peace, are required to join them when called to the field. Such officers, having been long absent from their corps, join them with reluctance ; they have lost all interest in the regiment ; the men do not know them,

and the attachment, so invaluable between the upper and lower grades, cannot subsist. Moreover, the public service often suffers materially from the withdrawal of valuable officers from situations where they can ill be spared.

Finally, as regards the question of expense, it is certain that if the Government continue to extend the system of public works now found to be so profitable, a very few years will add to the revenue so materially as to enable it to bear without inconvenience an expense calculated to effect so important an improvement in the efficiency of the army of India.

Having adverted to the difference in the constitution of the regular and irregular Native troops, it seems desirable that higher rewards than are now held out to the senior ranks should be presented before them, not so much perhaps to improve their efficiency, as to prevent discontent and insure zeal as long as the soldier is in service. Retiring pensions, both of the commission and non-commission ranks, should be regulated by length of service in the grade in which they may be found at the end

of thirty-five years' service, when it should be competent to the individual to demand his pension in time of peace, or for the Government to dispense with his service. The local titles and grants of land for one or two generations, which have been occasionally conferred on Native officers of the Madras army, are the most highly-prized honours that can be conferred.

Before closing my observations on the Indian army, I would just draw attention to the provision which is made for the widows and children of deceased officers out of a Fund set aside for the purpose. Till the year 1808 no provision of this sort was made by the Government, but officers of the regiments generally made a contribution for the surviving family of a brother officer, the amount of which depended on the circumstances of the case. At that time a Fund was established, on certain fundamental principles known to actuaries, at each of the Presidencies, varying however in amount both as to subscription and as to annuity. By this mode of providing for officers' families with the liberal aid of the Court of Directors, much more can be done than any Government could

venture to do of itself. The benefits are as follows :—

	£.	s.	d.
Pension to the widow of a Colonel ...	... 235	18	9
"      "      of a Lieut.-Colonel ...	208	11	0
"      "      of a Major, Chaplain of 10 years' and Assistant-Chaplain of 15			
years' standing   ...   ...   ...   ... 181	11	3	
Pension to the widow of a Captain...	... 136	17	6
"      "      of a Lieutenant   ... 102	3	9	
"      "      of an Ensign .   ... 81	15	0	

Children are also provided for liberally : boys till of age ; girls till married.

## CHAPTER IV.

## PART I.—FINANCIAL RESOURCES.

THE first object of a financier, in respect of indirect taxes, is to determine whether an article is a legitimate subject for indirect taxation ; the second, to impose a rate by which the largest revenue can be derived ; and the last, to ascertain whether the expense of collection and the inconvenience to the public, are such as to warrant its continuance. On this latter point financiers may possibly differ, on the others few will disagree.

Now let us see how the Indian statesmen of our own day, or in the time of our Native predecessors, have dealt with this question. Of the latter, when departing from the written or statute laws, which, in most cases, are sound, we may pronounce them, without hesitation, to be ignorant of the true principles of political economy. They deemed all objects worthy of taxation, on which they could raise money,—

other considerations being entirely overlooked. A singular instance of this occurs in the items of taxation given in a list, with an explanation of each, in the report made by the sole commissioner for the government of Mysore, dated October, 1855. When the management of that country—which embraces 30,000 square miles, with a population of three millions—was assumed by the British Government, it would be difficult to imagine any condition more lamentable than that of the people. Independently of very heavy taxes, the public offices were sold to farmers of the revenue, who were, at the same time, the rulers of districts. The people complained in vain to the Raja, to whom they were prevented from gaining access, till, driven to desperation, they abandoned their villages, ceased to cultivate the soil, drove away the custom-house officers, and obstructed the collection of taxes in every shape. They, however, committed no other excesses. They had not recourse to arms, but congregated in the jungles, obtaining food by night from their own stores at home. They withdrew from the Government which ceased to listen to their complaints or to afford them

redress, and entreated the British Government to take the management of the country into its own hands. The soldiery of the Raja sympathized with the people, and though they did not refuse to march where they were ordered, they declined to destroy their unarmed countrymen.

The Raja was, by treaty, bound to pay a certain sum annually for the support of a subsidiary force furnished by the British Government; and, in the event of the subsidy falling in arrears, or the probability of its payment being endangered by the state of the country, it was stipulated that the Raja should surrender the management of it to the British authority;—a fixed portion of the revenue being reserved for the Raja. As a sample of previous mismanagement, it is sufficient to state that on first taking charge, the British commissioner found upwards of eight hundred items of taxation, direct and indirect, and the revenue reduced to about four hundred thousand pounds a year. Of these items seven hundred and sixty-nine have been gradually abolished, yielding a sum of one hundred thousand pounds, while the revenue has as gradu-

ally increased to eight hundred and twenty thousand pounds annually. Meanwhile Mysore has paid in subsidy and in the liquidation of debts, within the last twenty years, upwards of nine million sterling ; and the country is in a most flourishing condition.

This has been accomplished by the agency of Sir Mark Cubbon, as sole commissioner, with a small establishment of only six European officers as assistants, and four superintendents of divisions, with an assistant each. The administration has been conducted in strict accordance with the Native system of Government, and affords a striking example of the excellence of the Hindu institutions when conducted with wisdom and integrity. The success attending this experiment has been recognized by the Governors-General since the time of Lord William Bentinck, who established it ; and the several acquisitions of territory which have since fallen into our hands have, in a greater or lesser degree, been submitted to a similar administration ; namely, Sind, the Punjab, Pegu, Nagpore, and Oude, and in some measure in the north-west provinces of Bengal, comprising the larger portion of the Agra Presidency.

While penning these sheets, an able article in the December number of "Blackwood" appears, touching on the very subject I had proposed to give to the world. On the subject of our Indian finances, the reviewer enters into the *verata quæstio* of the landed tenures, which, though really very simple if we look at them with the eye of a Native financier, become complicated into a tangled web of inextricable difficulty when we attempt to reconcile the anomalies which have arisen under English legislation.

It would be extremely difficult to compress into the limited space which I have allowed myself, all that might be said of the landed tenures, on which so large a portion of the Indian revenue depends. Abundant proof now exists to show that when we acquired territorial possessions, the village institutions and the simple landed tenures were universal throughout the country.\* Whatever obscurity now exists has been created by ourselves, not, as has been asserted, with the intention of exacting the uttermost farthing from the cultivator, but with a view of giving up nothing to which the Government deemed it had a

\* Vide APPENDIX.

legitimate claim ; at the same time respecting, (according to the conscientious belief of those supposed to be best informed), the rights of all occupants of the soil. The errors, whatever they have been, have arisen out of want of information on the part of the Government, rather than a desire of extortion.

It is uniformly acknowledged both by Hindu and Mahomedan lawgivers, that the land within the prescribed limits of every township is the property of certain of its inhabitants, but that the Government has a claim to a fixed portion of the produce.

The statistical report which emanated from the East-India House, in 1853, thus states the question of proprietary right in the land :—

“ In India there are two distinct rights connected with property in land :

“ 1st. The right of the proprietor or landlord is the title to the rent, subject to the deduction of the Government revenue.

“ 2nd. The right of the occupier, *not being proprietor*, is that of cultivating the land, subject to the payment of the landlord’s rent.

“ *Principles totally different distinguish the Native from the British system of revenue* : the former is based upon a fixed proportion of the gross produce ; the latter deals solely with the surplus or net rent. The fifty-

second section of the 'Directions to the Revenue Settlement Officers in the North-western Provinces,' runs as follows :—

"It is desirable that the Government should not demand more than two-thirds of what may be expected to be the net produce to the proprietor during the period of the settlement, leaving to the proprietor one-third as his profits, and to cover the cost of collection. By net produce is meant the surplus which the estate may yield after deducting expenses of cultivation."

This is the last effort made to settle the complicated question of the land tax in India. Here is a plain admission that the Government is not the proprietor of the soil, but is a claimant on the surplus produce, of which the British Government demands two-thirds as its portion, leaving a clear landlord's rent to the owner, however small it be. But as the assessment is a fixed money rate, the portion of the net produce it represents will depend not only on the quantity of the produce raised, but also on its price in the market, so that it is very likely that, though the assessment be made with the greatest accuracy at one time, the relation to the produce will not long remain the same. In making the recent settlements in the North-western Provinces, there were two conditions most favourable to the landholder First, the

assessment was fixed in one sum on the whole body of proprietors of each village, leaving it to them to distribute the amount among each other. The second advantage was the rendering the assessment permanent for thirty years, by which the landowners were able to clear waste land without its being taxed till the termination of the lease. The good effects of this settlement have been extensively felt, and the inhabitants are comfortable and happy.

In lower Bengal, where the settlement was made in 1793 with large contractors, to whom whole districts were assigned in perpetuity, they have also availed themselves of their leases to clear extensive wastes, and to profit by them; so that an opulent class of land-holders, capable of purchasing foreign luxuries, has arisen, which contributes indirectly to the finances of the state.

In Bombay all the land, not already in occupation by hereditary proprietors, has been claimed by the Government. It has been accurately measured, and each acre taxed according to the assumed quality of the soil. It has then been subdivided into ten acre patches or farms unirrigated, and four acre patches of irrigated

land. These farms are let to those who desire to take them, the occupants being optional tenants as long as they find it profitable, and are entitled to throw them up, if they choose, at the end of the season. The village head man collects the taxes, and the village clerk keeps an account current with each farmer. In the event of two or more persons joining together to cultivate the same farm, the lease is made out in the name of one of the parties, who becomes responsible for the Government tax. This system, denominated Ryotwarry, from the conditions being made with each farmer separately, has had too short a trial to enable one to judge of its merits. Excepting in respect of the landed communities, which have perhaps worn out in Bombay, the municipal institutions, especially the police, have not been subverted.

In no tract of territory were the municipal institutions and the ancient landed tenures (as found in the North-west Provinces of the Agra presidency), more perfect than in the south of India, when the British Government first took possession of the Carnatic; yet no portion of our immense territory has been sub-

jected to so many different schemes for raising the land revenue during an administration of between sixty and seventy years. The municipal institutions have been upheld at one time and ignored at another ; they have been gradually encroached on throughout the greater part of the country ; the occupants of the soil have been dealt with without distinction of rights ; and heavy assessments have reduced the whole to the condition of pauper tenants. Still the authorities, both abroad and at home, though conscious that something ought to be done, seem disposed, in spite of the success of the north-western settlement, to continue the present ryotwarry system, by a mere reduction of the land assessment. That system is thus described in the statistical report of the East India House in 1853 :—

“ A maximum assessment is fixed by the Government for the best lands, which cannot be exceeded ; inferior lands, as they remain inferior, are of course assessed at lower rates. The contracts with the cultivators are renewed from year to year, when remissions are made if the unfavourable character of the season, or the circumstances of the cultivator, render such a measure expedient. In the south of India the seasons are unusually precarious, and the cultivators poor and improvident : under such circumstances it has been thought there were

no means of securing to the Government a *fair* share of the surplus produce or net rent, but by taking more than the average in favourable seasons, and making corresponding reductions in those which prove unfavourable. Annual settlements are therefore in this view indispensable. But such a system must necessarily operate as a bar to agricultural improvement : it is obvious, but for the remissions, the land is over-assessed."

A very able series of papers have lately appeared on the state of the landed tenures in Madras, containing minutes, correspondence, and reports from the governors, members of council, and special commissioners, for a series of years. It is admitted that the assessments take one-third of the value of the crops on dry land, and 45 per cent. on irrigated land, by which it is apparent that the principle or rule of assessment, not to exceed two-thirds of the net rent (that is to say 22 instead of 33 per cent.), does not prevail at Madras ; and the following table, drawn up by one of the most eminent of the council, exhibits the condition of those who contribute so largely to the revenue :—

Ryots paying 8s. on £1. 4s. crops.	Ryots paying 18s. on £2. 14s. crops.	Ryots paying from £3 to £5 on crops yield- ing £6 to £15.	Ryots paying upwards of £50 on £150 crops.	Total number of Ryots.
593,129	204,470	413,276	1,543	1,212,418

My own experience, both in India and in Europe, leads me to believe that land cannot be cultivated at a profit for any length of time, by a fixed money assessment or rent, representing one-third of the produce of the farm, excepting under two circumstances : the one is, when the produce is very cheap at the time of fixing the rent or assessment ; the other is, when the cultivator has other lands from which he can derive profit, without paying rent or tax.

In the ryotwar settlements nothing of this kind takes place. The assessment is fixed on the recorded quantity of land in cultivation, at the rate of 33 or 45 per cent., as it may be, and when the land comes to be measured it is found that almost all the cultivators have been allowed by the village authorities to cultivate more land than they are rated at. This land, under the denomination of concealed cultivation, when discovered is brought forward as so much new land, calculated to yield future revenue,—a revenue which is never realized, and in the mean time, the cultivator is pauperized. Under the Native Government, and now in the North-western Provinces of

Bengal, the freeholders or members of the commune are alone responsible for the land-tax, as is the case in Europe—in England especially; but in the Madras Provinces, the freeholders, copyholders, and tenants-at-will, are confounded together. The Government officers tax all three alike at one-third of the value of the crop, by which process the copyholder pays his landlord's rent, which includes the tax, to the Government; the tenant-at-will does the same and is recognized as a freeholder, while the real freeholder not only loses the rent derivable from his tenant, but pays, as a tax to the Government for his freehold, at the same rate as his tenantry.

It was for many years the practice of the Government to advance money without interest to any one who could find security for his honesty, if he engaged to break up new land. In this way the substantial farmers lost their best labourers, who then inundated the market with produce, which entered it cheaper than any other, as these new cultivators paid no tax for three or four years, till the advances had been liquidated. The prices of agricultural produce naturally fell, and those who had been

assessed at money rates, when grain was dear, could no longer pay their taxes when it became very cheap: annual remissions on very questionable data had to be made, the old and substantial yeomen gradually fell away, and the factitious farmers cling to their little patches of land, till they represent about two-thirds of the whole landholders of the country.

When this state of things is considered, it is impossible not to regret that some measure is not adopted to enable the original landholders to recover their former station as the substantial yeomen under the denomination of Mirasdars (or hereditary landlords). This can only be effected by restoring as far as is practicable the village municipalities, contracting with them, as a body, to pay a fixed revenue for a definite period, and allowing them to occupy or underlet the waste lands of the villages. In the Madras Provinces there are, I believe, only two districts in a flourishing condition. The one is Tanjore, where the tax is dependent on the price of produce, and in Coimbatore, where the original assessment of 1794 was very light. The numerous and touching appeals of the Madras landholders to Parlia-

ment for the restoration of their ancient institutions have met with little attention, and some of the most distinguished of the civil servants, who lament the present condition of the people, shut their eyes to the fact, that the municipal institutions have existed within the memory of man. If it were not for rendering this chapter of too great length, I might give in this place the details of the two villages of Mamalam or Mamalong, whose limits touch on the grounds of the Governor's palace, at Guindy, and of that of Madaveram, in North Arcot, accounts of which will be found in the Appendix. The village communities were first brought to light, as has been before stated by Colonel Wilks, in 1808; but they were known to exist before that time, by Sir Thomas Munro, who after describing the mode in which they manage their concerns, proceeds to observe:—"So that every village is, in fact, a small collectorate, or more properly speaking, a small corporation or community, with its own laws and usages." \*

Though the land tax and other items

\* Appendix 5, Report, p. 745, letter from the principal collector of the Ceded Districts, 30th Nov., 1806.

connected with it yield more than half the revenue of India, yet the British Government also derives it from other sources of considerable importance. Of these the duties on salt are nearly equivalent to one-tenth of the whole, and the sale of opium represents an amount almost equal to all the remaining items, as is shown by the following table:—

*Gross and Net Amount of the Public Revenue of British India, for the year 1854.*

Year 1854.	Gross Receipts.	Charges of Collection.	Net Receipts.
	£.	£.	£.
Land, excise, licenses, &c. }	16,997,370	2,153,568	14,843,802
Mint ... ...	101,985	56,256	45,729
Post office ...	202,643	202,643	—
Stamp duties ...	515,999	25,471	490,528
Customs . ...	1,292,386	178,774	1,113,612
Salt ... ...	2,544,130	398,228	2,145,902
Opium ... ...	4,777,231	1,418,211	3,359,020
Tobacco* ...	8,958	383	8,575
Miscellaneous† ..	1,692,844	—	1,692,844
	28,133,546	4,433,534	23,700,012

\* This source of revenue has been abolished.

† This item is made up of tribute, subsidy, interest on advances, &c. &c.

It has always appeared to me that the financiers in India have committed great mistakes in altering the mode of realizing certain taxes, which they have been eventually compelled to relinquish, owing to the vexatious system of collecting them. Two especially occur to me; the first is what was denominated transit duty. These duties, under the Native Government, partook of the nature of customs and tolls; as customs, they were confined to six articles in the gross, and were only levied at the entrance into any new Pergana or county, usually at a distance from ten to fifteen miles. The toll was payable on cart-loads, bullock or horse-loads, and on camel-loads. The articles were classed as follows and at different rates :—

- Timber, hay, and straw, of all denominations.
- \* Edible grains.
- Groceries and drugs.
- Linens and cotton cloths.
- Woollens of all descriptions, including shawls.
- Horses, camels, and elephants, for sale.

The merchants were in the habit of obtaining permits to certain towns, describing the goods, which were then not liable to examination on the road. Tariffs of the tolls were

affixed to all custom-houses, and were procurable in the principal towns. The custom-masters or contractors were bound to entertain policemen to protect the roads. The British Government first converted these tolls into *ad valorem* duties on each particular article and the detention and oppression practised on merchants rendered the transit duty system of our Government intolerable for many years, till it was finally abolished. Now, it is not intended to advocate transit duties in any shape, but the tolls might have been confined to the conveyances without reference to the loads, and the proceeds been applied to the repairs and construction of roads. Again, under the Native Government, the tax denominated Mothirfa was an income tax on mercantile profits, levied on whole communities, to be distributed among themselves in the same way as are the taxes for the payment of the London police, and the poor laws. We have overlooked this legitimate subject of taxation as defined in the Institutes of Menu (chap. x., v. 120), and instead of levying an income tax of two or five per cent., as is authorized by the law, on merchants, we have transferred it to

mechanics and artizans, who are especially exempt by the same law; and instead of levying it on whole bodies, have laid it on the tools of the trade of each individual. There seems no reason why direct taxation in India should be confined to the very poorest classes, and that the middling and upper or wealthier classes should bear none of the burthens of the Government. From the fact of there being eight hundred modes of taxation in Mysore under the Native Government, and numerous others in other states equally objectionable in principle, it is evident that it is a fallacy to imagine that the people of India will not bear any new taxes. We have found no difficulty in imposing a house tax in Bengal to support the police, nor in inducing the landholders of several districts to contribute one per cent. for repairing roads, for maintaining schools, or for supporting dispensaries and hospitals. It need not be insisted on that all taxes are unpalatable, and new ones more especially; but the people of India are rational, and if the best informed and most influential are applied to, there would be no difficulty in creating new sources of revenue. We find the wealthy part of the community riding horses for pleasure, rolling in their car-

riages, or conveyed in palanquins, which really contributes nothing to the public revenue. It is surely time to correct this anomalous system of finance, and apply to India the laws of taxation on the broad and sound principles of political economy,—a science now very generally understood by all who have any title to statesmen. The amount of revenue, as compared with the population, is very small, but its distribution implies a cheap administration, and the debt is insignificant compared with that of other states.

The average paid by each individual as revenue, was:—

	£.	s.	d.
In England, in 1852	...	...	1 19 4
In France	...	...	1 12 0
In Prussia	...	...	0 19 3
In India, in 1854	...	...	0 3 8½

Under the circumstances in which the Indian Government has been compelled to carry on wars at the expense of its finances without direct benefit to India, it is matter of surprise, and ought to be of consolation, that it has incurred so small a debt; not only small as regards the magnitude of the undertakings themselves, but in respect of its annual revenue compared with the States of Europe.

The following table, compiled from the sixteenth annual report of the Registrar-General of England,\* exhibits the amount of public debt now standing against the three greatest powers in Europe, to which we have added that of British India in 1853 :—

States.	Debt.	Income.	No. of years' revenue equal to National Debt.
England ...	£. 779,363,204	£. 56,834,711	14 years.
France ...	233,000,000	56,980,776	4 years.
Austria ...	211,635,000	14,105,576	8 years.
British India	56,233,686	28,681,842	2 years.

The smallness of the revenue of India has arisen mainly from the poverty of the people, a defective system of finance, and, till lately, a total want of roads or other means of internal communication. These causes are in process of removal, and there is every reason to hope that, within a very few years, the revenues of India will be able to liquidate the debt altogether.

\* Annual Report, 1853, p. 121.

† This sum is exclusive of the various terminable annuities.

## PART II.—COMMERCE.

THE vast quantity of treasure imported into India from Europe has lately become a subject of controversy among political economists. The question has elicited some valuable articles in Nos. 685 and 686 of the *Weekly Economist*. In these, several reasons are adduced, why treasure is finding its way to the East. In the first place, there is the increased consumption of tea, which has been doubled, and of silk, which has risen, between 1849 and 1856, to the extent of 39,719 bales ; requiring a sum of £9,086,876 for the purchase thereof, independent of other articles of commerce. China has been for many years engaged in a civil war, and it is notorious that in such a state of things, the precious metals of a country are buried till peaceful times. There can be no doubt, that in this way China absorbs a vast quantity of the current coin, which is thus withdrawn from general circulation. The Presidencies of Bengal and Bombay have an extensive trade with China, in cotton and opium, and export thither part of the precious metals that they

have lately imported from Europe. According to the tables recently published to be laid before Parliament, it appears that between the years 1841 and 1853, Calcutta imported treasure to the amount of £25,119,338; Bombay, £24,345,460 : total, £49,464,798. Whereas Madras, having a very trifling trade with China, imported only £2,403,523 during the same period of time. The precious metals are purchased by England with her manufactures, sold in Mexico and Peru, in Australia, and in the United States of America. The superabundance of these metals in England causes them to be employed in the purchase of articles more in demand, and part naturally goes to China, through India, to purchase tea and silks: while in India itself they pay for the products of that country beyond the immediate demand for our home manufactures. The return of imports shows that that demand has fluctuated from year to year, yet on the whole it has gradually increased from £8,415,940, in 1841, to £12,240,490, in 1852. There is, however, another point that merits consideration. Within the last five or six years, public works

in India have been actively carried on, and no less a sum than two millions has been expended annually, in addition to the usual current amount. This expenditure is put in circulation for the payments to labourers on the several public works in India. There has been, besides, a great improvement in the condition of the cultivators, both in the Bengal and Agra Presidencies, including the Punjab, as well as in Bombay. This condition of things, and the state of the new roads and canals, constructed in the upper part of India, have given an impetus to local commercial intercourse, hitherto unknown.

The deficiency of metallic currency in Madras has been especially noticed in the Report of the Commissioners on Public Works, in that Presidency.

The following remarks on the state of the currency at that Presidency, in December, 1852, contained in the report, are to the point :— \*

Par. 316. "One great difficulty which the ryot (cultivator) has to encounter is the scarcity of coin. We

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\* Report of Madras Commission on Public Works, pp. 130, 131.

have been unable to procure any definite information as to the amount of coin in circulation, but we have good reason to believe, and we are countenanced in this belief by Major J. T. Smith, the Mint-master, that the whole currency very little exceeds the land-revenue,—that revenue has rarely amounted to 365 lacs of Rupees (£3,650,000), and it may safely be assumed, therefore, that the whole currency does not exceed four hundred lacs, or four crores (£4,000,000) : of this amount, no less than about 240 lacs (£2,400,000) is always lying idle in the various Government treasuries, at the Presidency and in the interior, so that no more than 160 lacs, or £1,600,000, is left for the payment of the revenue and all the private transactions of twenty-two millions of people.\* And it must be remembered, that in this country paper-money is almost unknown, except at the Presidency ; that even private bills are in very limited use ; and that large sums are permanently kept, in coin, by private persons, from the absence of banks or other easy and safe means of investing money. Bearing in mind this hoarding custom, it may be assumed that all the coin circulating in a district has to be paid into the Treasury fully three times over in the course of the year."

Again : "That the payment of the Government land-revenue is rendered difficult by the scarcity of coin, is proved by the results experienced wherever large sums are brought into a district by English merchants, as in the case of sugar-works, indigo-factories, or the purchase of cotton, or where large sums are retained or expended in public works : in such cases coin becomes cheaper, the

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\* This affords a currency of less than 1s. 5*½*d. per head.

ryot's produce is easily converted into money, and the revenue is collected without difficulty."

It must be allowed that, considering the extent of sea-coast and the vast population, the inland and export trade is comparatively small, and the duties levied insignificant in amount. This may in a great measure be ascribed to the absence of free internal communication, which however, is now in a fair way of improvement. The want of conveyance has no doubt been one of the main causes of India being unable to supply cotton sufficiently cheap to compete with that of America; notwithstanding which the increase has been gradual, but progressive, since the year 1834, when it sent home only 38,268,402 lbs., while in 1850 the amount had increased to 110,690,357 lbs., which is still only one-eighth part of the total importation into England.

The following table exhibits the imports and exports of British India, for the latest period of account :—

*Table of Exports and Imports, by sea, in India, in the Year of Account, 1853.\**

EXPORTS.	Value, £. sterling.	IMPORTS.	Value, £. sterling.
Coffee .. ..	97,490	Apparel .. ..	286,072
Cotton, raw ..	3,629,494	Books and stationery ..	136,001
Cotton piece-goods ..	889,040	Cotton twist and yarn.	1,130,500
Grain .. ..	889,160	Cotton piece-goods ..	3,667,433
Indigo .. ..	1,809,685	Fruits .. ..	134,891
Ivory .. ..	55,886	Jewellery .. ..	42,617
Lac .. ..	150,680	Malt liquors ..	153,016
Opium .. ..	7,034,075	Machinery ..	26,457
Pepper .. ..	28,235	Manufactured metals ..	217,187
Rum .. ..	19,215	Metals :—	
Saltpetre .. ..	448,804	Copper .. ..	210,230
Silk, raw .. ..	667,545	Iron .. ..	145,248
Silk piece-goods.	315,305	Lead .. ..	22,202
Shawl Cashmere	215,659	Spelter .. ..	11,303
Sugar .. ..	1,729,762	Tin .. ..	77,868
Wool .. ..	172,110	Salt .. ..	671,814
Miscellaneous ..	2,312,486	Silk .. ..	110,546
	20,464,631	Spices .. ..	127,119
Total goods ..	20,464,631	Spirits .. ..	96,165
Treasure .. ..	1,055,230	Tea .. ..	79,555
	21,519,861	Tobacco .. ..	51,562
		Timber .. ..	55,028
		Woollen goods ..	142,027
		Wines .. ..	181,503
		Miscellaneous ..	2,294,517
		Total goods† ..	10,070,861
		Treasure .. ..	6,831,218
		Total .. ..	16,902,079

N. B.—The newly-acquired Province of Pegu exports annually a million sterling worth of rice.

\* Parliamentary Statistical Table, p. 92.

† An increase in the imports of merchandize into Bengal alone last year, A.D. 1855-6, amounted, according to M. Bonmaud's tables, to £1,428,589.

Some idea may be gathered of the elasticity of the internal resources, by the exertions she is capable of making when encouraged by commercial prospects. Owing to the war with America, in 1815, the price of cotton rose in the English market, which called forth additional supplies from other quarters; among these, India increased hers from 40,294,250 lbs. in one year, to 86,555,000 lbs., besides her usual shipments for China.

Again, during the late war with Russia, she exported during the year 1855, the following *additional quantities* of produce from Bengal alone :—

Wheat, 185,000 qrs., at 18s. ...	... £166,500
Rice, 1,681,256 maunds, at 6s. ...	... 504,370
Hides, 795,426 pieces, at 3s. 10d. per score ...	... 139,198
Jute, 286,541 maunds, at 3s. 2d. ...	... 28,654
Linseed, 1,880,253 maunds, at 7s. 6d. ...	... 705,094
Mustard-seed, 13,870,862, at 7s. 6d. ...	... 2,204,073
	£3,747,889

The excess of trade for all India during the year 1855, amounted in imports and exports to £8,243,401

I shall conclude this short notice on the trade of India, with a table, exhibiting the state of its commercial navigation.

The following exhibits the extent of shipping cleared inwards and outwards in the last year of account:—

*Number and Tonnage of all Vessels Entered and Cleared in British Ports in India, in the years 1841 and 1854, including Native craft.*

	ENTERED.		CLEARED.		TOTAL.	
	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.
1841	25,887	1,050,887	26,589	1,130,473	52,476	2,181,360
1854	12,789	1,554,300	13,292	1,681,271	26,081	3,235,571

*Number and Tonnage of European and Native Vessels distinguished.*

EUROPEAN VESSELS.

1841	1,390	459,295	1,587	495,291	2,977	954,586
1854	2,813	1,104,244	3,223	1,230,570	6,036	2,334,814

NATIVE VESSELS.

1841	24,497	591,592	25,002	635,182	49,499	1,226,774
1854	9,976	450,056	10,069	450,701	20,045	900,757

Note. By this it appears that the European tonnage has increased, in thirteen years, 1,386,228 tons; the Native tonnage has fallen off, within the same period 307,017 tons; the net increase, therefore, within the last few years exceeding one million of tons.

## CHAP. V.—PUBLIC WORKS.

## PART I.—IRRIGATION.

THE revenues of India have, we know, from the earliest ages depended principally on the produce of agriculture. If the landholder, under the Hindu Government, was recognized as the proprietor of his fields, the sovereign undoubtedly had a legal right to a portion of the crop, payable, as is the tithe in England, in kind. If it was the object of the farmer to improve his land, it was equally the interest of the king to induce him to cultivate the most valuable produce, and to obtain the largest returns: for the prosperity of the landholder was shared by the sovereign. Those who dwell in the temperate zone, cannot appreciate the importance of abundance of water to bring forth the fruits of tropical agriculture. In Europe we have constant moisture, and no oppressive heat: in the tropics there is intense heat and drought for

several successive months in the year, without a shower; while at one season the clouds collect, the atmosphere is charged with a steamy vapour, almost intolerable to Europeans, and the rain descends in torrents for days together, discharging in a few hours more water than falls in England during a whole year. At such seasons the rivers overflow their banks, sweeping away occasionally whole villages, with their inhabitants and cattle, and frequently inundating the surface of the country for miles around, when villages are isolated, and communication can only be carried on by water. On these occasions the mighty flood rolls on majestically for days and weeks together, pouring its waters into the sea by many mouths.

The intelligent Natives of India, however, early discovered a means of intercepting and laying up this valuable element as a provision against the long droughts of the rest of the year. Wherever a situation was found favourable for the purpose, and the drain of a considerable area ran into a valley and passed through unequal surfaces of land, an artificial mound, frequently of some miles in length,

was thrown up, and the lake or tank thus formed supplied the proximate fields with irrigation during the dry season.

Some years since the condition of the public works in the Madras Presidency, more especially those for irrigation and internal traffic, were in so unfavourable a condition, that the Home Government directed a commission to be formed to report on them. That commission, composed of an experienced civil servant, an officer of engineers, and a third from the staff of the army, were appointed to the duty, and a more elaborate, and at the same time a more lucid document was scarcely ever laid before a Government. It has since been published by order of the House of Commons, and from it I derive the greater part of the materials on the subjects of which it treats." The labour and expense which the ancient Hindus devoted to the great reservoirs to which allusion has been made, were essential to the cultivation of rice, sugar-cane, and other the most valuable products in the torrid zone. These reservoirs have been denominated by us tanks, but they are in many instances lakes, formed either by the damming up of deep

valleys lying in the midst of mountains, or by the intercepting of streams, and in some places large rivers, near their source, where, after having filled one lake, the river is suffered to escape over a wier lower than the main embankment, and to pass on till another favourable position occurs further down the stream, where it is made again to pay tribute for the same purpose.

"But," the Commissioners remark, "in general it may be affirmed that the greater part of the flood-waters of our rivers are turned to no account, and vast bodies of water flow annually to the sea, which might be made use of to fertilize hundreds of thousands of acres now jungle or waste, to feed and maintain a vast population, and to add enormously both to the wealth of the people, and to the revenue of the Government.

"With the exception of the districts of Canara and Malabar on the western coast, the whole of the territories of the Madras Presidency carry on their cultivation in great part by means of artificial irrigation ; the water for the purpose being obtained by channels taken from off the rivers, or by tanks or reservoirs, in which the water of the reservoirs is stored and drawn off for use. Works of both descriptions have existed from very remote times : for the value of irrigation in increasing the fertility of the soil was very early recognized ; and princes and rulers of every grade devoted large sums to the formation of such works, which thus, in the course of ages, became extremely numerous. The revenue being

so intimately dependent on the efficiency of these works, they received a large share of the attention of the Government, and especially of the revenue officers, in whom their custody was immediately vested. Even in the tumultuous and disturbed times which immediately preceded the introduction of British rule in the Carnatic, this duty was not wholly omitted, though many fine works were then allowed to go to ruin, and all were much neglected.”\*

“The mere mention of the number of the works would give no just idea respecting them, as they vary so greatly in size and value.” Again : “The number in 14 out of 20 districts (omitting Tanjore, from which accounts are not received, but including Kurnool) considerably exceeds 43,000 in repair, besides above 10,000 out of repair.† The revenue immediately dependent on the Government works of irrigation, is about 135 lacs of rupees (£1,350,000), besides fully 15 lacs, or £150,000 more, alienated as *enam* ;‡ and assuming that they now yield no more than 10 per cent. on their original cost, the amount of the capital invested in their construction may be taken at 1,500 lacs, or £15,000,000 sterling.

“The amount actually expended was probably much more, for many of the old works were constructed on very unfavourable sites, and many others were formed less with a view of profit than as perpetual memorials in honour of a founder, and at a cost very disproportionate to the probable return.”§

\* Madras Commissioners' Report, p. 2.

† The statement is made in round numbers, and does not profess to be statistically correct.

‡ Land exempt from tax.

§ Madras Commissioners' Report, p. 6.

It may well be supposed that expensive establishments for the supervision of these works and for their constant repair, form a duty which the Government cannot for its own sake venture altogether to neglect, but greater attention has been devoted to it of late years than formerly, and proportionate beneficial results have accrued.

With this Report before me I shall proceed to show what has been effected in the Madras Presidency, within the last few years, in works of irrigation and internal communication.

The extraordinary profitable return on money spent in works of irrigation would appear incredible, unless supported by authentic documents, embodied in the volume before me. I shall confine myself, however, to two cases—the district of Tanjore and that of Rajahmundry :—

“Tanjore has always been better cared for, in the way of irrigation, than any other. In the ten years from 1821 to 1830 inclusive, the expenditure on works of irrigation averaged 49,200 Rs. (£4,920). The yearly average expenditure during the twenty years from 1831 to 1850, is 91,523 Rs., or £9,152. During the first period the average revenue from irrigated land, was 29,44,685 Rs. (£294,468); while during the latter period

it averaged 30,83,442 Rs. or £308,344,—the aggregate of this period over what it would have been at the average of the former period, was 27,75,250 Rs., or £277,525, being a return directly into the treasury of more than three to one of the additional expenditure. The annual increase of cultivation between both periods, amounted to 79,869 acres. And it is shown by returns which we have obtained from the collector, that the average produce per acre is not only larger than formerly, but less variable.”\*

If we take the increase of revenue in Tanjore at 16 lacs, £160,000, and consider it to have been progressive, as it has been upon the whole, the total additional revenue in forty years was, 320 lacs (£3,200,000), while the total irrigation expenditure, 32 lacs (£320,000), being a charge only of 10 per cent. on the net profit accruing to Government. It is hardly necessary to add, that the value of land to the proprietors paying the revenue increased proportionately in the market.

Let us now hear what the Commissioners say, with regard to the works on the Godavery, at Rajahmundry, about 250 miles North of Tanjore.

“The Godaverry, like the Cauvery, flows to the sea, through a flat alluvial Delta, and this tract has been for

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\* Madras Report, pp. 100–3.

many years partially and imperfectly irrigated from the river, but the irrigation had never been laid out on any comprehensive plan, and of late years the works had been almost entirely neglected. The revenue was declining ; and while Tanjore was paying with ease a revenue of £450,000, and annually increasing in wealth, Rajahmundry, of similar extent, with a far more fertile soil, and inferior in no one natural advantage, was paying, with extreme difficulty, a revenue of £190,000, and its people were in the lowest state of poverty.

"So long ago as before the close of the last century, an engineer (Mr. Topping) had observed the facility with which the Godavery might be made to irrigate the districts on its banks, and had brought to the notice of Government how desirable it was to throw an *anicut*, or dam, across the river, so as to raise the water, and thus make it available for that purpose."\*

The project was allowed to sleep for half a century ; at length it was revived by Colonel Arthur Cotton, chief engineer of Madras, in 1844, and after considerable delay both at home and abroad, it was ordered to be carried into effect in 1847, when the work was commenced. The river Godavery takes its rise in the Western Ghauts, near Nassuck, at an elevation of 1,600 feet above the sea, whence following an easterly course for about five hundred miles, it is joined by the Wardah, running due south,

\* Commissioners' Report, p. 104.

and then proceeds in a south-easterly direction for four hundred miles, and enters the bay of Bengal, at the port of Coringa by many mouths. The country drained by its waters, Colonel Cotton estimates at 130,000 square miles. The extreme discharge at its mouth is calculated at 150 millions of cubic yards per hour, and in the driest season, at least half a million. The difference therefore, unless made available either for irrigation or navigable purposes, is entirely lost in the ocean. This affords a fair sample of inland rivers in tropical climates in general, and the splendid hydraulic works of our predecessors in the south of India, only prove how much may be done by availing ourselves of resources which have to such a vast extent been hitherto neglected.

The project was of a gigantic nature, and apparently the most difficult part of the work was the construction of a wier or dam of great length across the bed of a river having no other foundation but loose sand. Fortunately, Colonel Arthur Cotton, who had previously accomplished the repair of the Cauvery dam, had learnt the mode of overcoming the obstacle, from the ancient practice of the Natives, who

carried similar works over fathomless sands, by an ingenious but simple method. In order to obtain a foundation, round pits of three feet diameter are built in the bed of the river, into which earthen cylinders are sunk, one fitting into the other, as the sand and water are removed: in this way each cylinder is built up to the surface, till it has penetrated from twelve to fourteen feet. The cylinder is then filled in with rough stones and clay, by which means a solid pillar of the requisite dimensions is established, which by the equal pressure of the sand on every side keeps it firm and upright. These columns are more substantial and durable, than any ordinary wooden piling. In order to obtain the stone requisite to construct the dam it was necessary to bring it sixteen miles, from quarries whence it had been excavated, and a tramroad was constructed for the purpose. Some notion may be formed of the labour and superintendence required, when it is stated that 10,000 workmen made and laid 200,000 bricks per diem, and consecutively for four months, in order to be prepared to meet the vast body of water that pours down during the season of the floods.

The works have now nearly come to a close, and a net increase of the land-tax has accrued, of upwards of £35,000 per annum.

The Commissioners report that—

"The tract capable of being irrigated by these new works, amounts to 3,000 square miles, or about two millions of acres. But a part of it is capable of being watered also from the Kistna, by means of a dam to be constructed at Bezwarah. Colonel Cotton takes 1,200,000 acres, as the actual extent to be irrigated" [by the Godaverry].

"And this triumphant success, this magnificent addition to the revenue, is not to be gained by exaction, by trenching on the fair rights of property or industry; on the contrary, the noblest feature of all this is, that this vast gain to the Government is to be obtained by adding in a far higher degree to the wealth, the comfort, and happiness of the people. The value of a crop on an acre of dry land does not exceed 6 Rs. (12s.), but that of an acre of rice is 20 Rs. (£2), and of an acre of sugar 230 Rs., or £23, being a gain of £1. 8s. an acre, in the former case, and £22. 8s. in the latter. The gain to the producer, therefore, by the improvements in question may be stated as follows :—

1,00,000 acres of sugar-cane, and other valuable products at 200 Rs., is	... 200,00,000
11,00,000 acres of rice at 12 Rs., is	... 132,00,000
	Rs. 332,00,000

Equivalent to £3,320,000 sterling; out of which the Government will receive 30 lacs, or £300,000 a year, leaving a clear annual surplus to the landholders of three millions sterling."

Before closing this result of the labours of Colonel Arthur Cotton, in the Godavery, it may be as well to show what has been performed, and what has been the actual cost. In a small but valuable pamphlet, published by that officer last year, before he returned to India, we find the following table, which gives a correct idea of the total profits upon the Rajahmundry works already realized :—

Years.	Average Revenue of 10 years before the Works.	Revenues of each year since.	Additional Revenues in each year.	Total additional Revenue up to the end of each year.	Expenditure in each year.	Total Expenditure up to the end of each year.
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
1836-1846	196,000	—	—	—	—	—
1846-7	—	242,000	46,000	—	24,000	—
1847-8	—	250,000	54,000	100,000	34,500	58,000
1848-9	—	233,000	36,000	136,000	22,000	80,000
1849-50	—	224,000	28,000	164,000	25,000	105,500
1850-1	—	242,000	46,000	210,000	30,500	136,000
1851-2	—	245,000	49,000	259,000	21,900	157,900
1852-3	—	250,000	54,000	313,000	30,000	187,900
1853-4	—	244,000	48,000	361,000	—	—

So that while the sum of about £188,000 was expended, £360,000 was received.

The additional exports by sea increased in a greater ratio as the work proceeded, independently of what was exported by land.

Years.	Expenditure on Works up to end of each year.	Additional Sale of Annual Produce Exported by Sea.
	£.	£.
1847-8 ... ...	58,000	116,000
1848-9 ... ...	80,000	183,000
1849-50 ... ...	105,500	228,000
1850-1 ... ...	136,000	316,000
1851-2 ... ...	157,900	398,000
1852-3 ... ...	187,900	514,000
1853-4 ... ...	—	654,000

The river Kistna, which debouches a few miles below the Godaverry, is also in process of improvement, in the same manner as the latter, and will be connected with it by a navigable canal.

The following letter appeared, in the month of September, in the *Times* newspaper:—

#### PUBLIC WORKS IN INDIA.

*To the Editor of the Times.*

SIR,—I think thirty-five years' actual experience in the management of public works in India, during which I have been employed in the execution of many new works of great magnitude, may justify me in offering for insertion in your paper the enclosed memorandum, which is the result of that experience.

I should observe that it is a low estimate of average

results in different districts, and that it is far below the actual results in the only district in India in which such a course has been steadily pursued, that is, in Tanjore.

The result of 50 years there is this—the expenditure on *new* works and improvements has been about £250,000, or £5,000 a year ; the number of miles of practicable road made has been not quite 1,000, or 40 miles per annum. The increase of revenue has been from £320,000 to £520,000 or £200,000 per annum—£4,000 each year. The increase of private income, as shown by the increased saleable value of land alone, cannot be less than £200,000 a year. In this case, therefore, the expenditure has been only half what is here supposed, and the increase of revenue more than half as much again.

In the district of Rajahmundry, the only one in which a thorough system of improvement has been begun, including both irrigation and water transit, an outlay of about £30,000 a year, or £188,000 in all, has in six years produced an increase of revenue of £60,000 a year, and of exports from £30,000 per annum to £250,000 in the last year.

These two districts, therefore, much more than support the estimate of the memorandum.

I remain, yours obediently,

ARTHUR COTTON,

Late Chief Engineer at Madras.

So much for the Rajahmundry works.

Previously to the departure of the Marquis Dalhousie from India, he deemed it proper to take a review of his administration. As it affords additional proofs of the resources of India,

and is not in general circulation, I avail myself of its pages, to give a brief outline of the several public works, which have been constructed under his rule for the benefit of the country. In continuation of the subject of canals for irrigation and traffic, I find the following description of the magnificent task accomplished by Colonel Sir Probey Cautley, K.C.B., of the Bengal engineers, in the Agra Presidency.

His Lordship observes :—

“ Of all the works of public improvement which can be applied to an Indian province, works of irrigation are the happiest in their effect upon the physical condition of the people. And foremost among all the works of irrigation that the world as yet has ever seen, stands the Ganges Canal, whose main stream was for the first time opened on the 8th April, 1854. It was then reported to the Honourable the Court of Directors, and was thus briefly described.

“ Within eight years the main lines of the Ganges Canal, applicable to the double purposes of irrigation and navigation have been designed, executed, and opened.

“ Extending over 525 miles in length, measuring in its greatest depth ten feet, and in its extreme breadth 170 feet, the main irrigation line of the canal is justly described as a work unequalled in its class and character among the efforts of civilized nations.

“ Its length is fivefold greater than that of all the

main lines of Lombardy and Egypt together, the only countries in the world whose works of irrigation rise above insignificance.

"As a single work of navigation for purposes of commerce, the Ganges has no competitor throughout the world. No single canal in Europe has attained to half the magnitude of this Indian work. It nearly equals the aggregate length of the four greatest canals in France. It greatly exceeds all the first-class canals of Holland put together, and it is greater by one-third than the greatest navigation canal in the United States of America.

"When the branches in progress shall have been completed, the extent and influence of the work will be vastly increased throughout all its gigantic proportions.

"The cost of this splendid work amounted, in 1854, to £1,400,000 ; when completed it will extend to 900 miles, and it is estimated that it will afford irrigation to 1,470,000 acres. But (says the Governor-General) none can estimate in their full extent, the blessings which its fertilizing influence will confer upon millions, whom it will place henceforth beyond the reach of those periodical calamities of season which from time to time, as in 1837,\* have brought upon the plains of Hindoostan, the wide spread desolation of famine and death.

"The aggregate length of the inundation canals we found constructed by the Native Government, when we took possession of the Punjab, is upwards of 600 miles. They have since been enlarged and improved under the British authority."†

\* It is generally believed that 500,000 human beings perished on that occasion.

† Marquis of Dalhousie's Minute, p. 24.

No works of irrigation exist under the Bombay Presidency; but a Joint-Stock Company has engaged to undertake the task, which has not yet been attempted by the Government. On the occupation of Candeish, twenty-eight years ago, it was found that eighty dams, diverting the waters of the numerous streams in that province for purposes of irrigation, had been constructed by our predecessors. These works have not yet been repaired, but are calculated to become an abundant source of revenue.

The waste of the waters has been already calculated, for the Godavery alone. It is estimated, in the statistical report of the India House, that the water lost for purposes of irrigation, from the rivers issuing from the Himalayas, in the dry season, would, if applied to irrigation purposes, afford sufficient nourishment for 24,000 square miles, or 15,864,480 acres, and which it is presumed may ultimately be brought into cultivation.

## PART II.—CANALS.

NEXT in importance to irrigation is the conversion of the waters of rivers to the purposes of navigation. The late Governor-General did not overlook this interesting subject. He observes that—

“In Scinde, the construction of a canal connecting the river Indus with the Nara stream has been approved. By this work the channel of the Nara will be annually and regularly supplied with water, which hitherto it has only received by extraordinary inundations, once in twenty years.

“In Lower Scinde the channels of the Foolalie have been cleared and improved; and in Upper Scinde similar and extensive measures of improvement have been executed in the channel of the Begaree Canal.” \*

“For some years the Ganges has been covered with a flotilla of steamers. The Government river steamers have for several years periodically made the passage from Karachy to Mooltan along the Indus. That river is now becoming the great highway between Europe and the North-western Provinces. Troops arrive and depart by that route; great quantities of heavy stores follow the same course; and passengers in large numbers now by preference seek by it a point of departure at Bombay.

“Surveys have been made of the principal rivers of

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\* Governor-General’s Minute, p. 27.

the Punjab, with a view to the extension of river navigation still further into the interior of the Province.

"The Indus may certainly be navigated nearly as far as Kalabaug, and at no great expense it might be made navigable to Attock.

"Immediately after the occupation of the Province of Pegu, half of the steam flotilla upon the Ganges was transferred to the Irrawaddy, and it forms now the great vehicle of trade, and for the conveyance of supplies between the frontier and the sea.

"This province is peculiarly fitted for the services of river steamers, and it is to be hoped that the flotilla will be largely increased.

"A survey of the river Godavery upon the opposite coast has also been undertaken. I am fully alive to the importance of opening this great inland navigation, if it be possible, for general purposes. The Government of India, therefore, has given full sanction to the prosecution, with proper precaution, of the extensive operations which the nature of the river channel, so far as it is yet known, seems to render indispensable before the Godavery can be made a navigable stream,"—that is to say, to its fullest extent at all times of the year.

"Besides the measures which have been taken in regard to navigable rivers, the means of internal navigation have been considerably increased during the last eight years by the completion of various navigable canals.

"The works of the great Ganges Canal and Baree Doab Canals, both of which will be available for navigation, have already been noticed.

"In the Madras Presidency considerable improvements have been made in the channel of Cochrane's canal.

"A canal has been constructed to connect the ports of Porto Novo and Cuddalore in the district of South Arcot."

Other canals, extending several hundred miles along the surf-beaten coast of Coromandel, are in progress, and the Governor-General adds,—

"In the budget of 1855-56 further proposals were made for extending the several lines of internal navigation at an expense of not less than fifteen lacs of rupees (£150,000), and they have been recommended for the approval of the Honourable Court of Directors."

Such measures were much required, for we find in the Report of the Madras Commissioners of 1853, before alluded to, the following remark : "The river navigation of the country has not been improved, and canals for traffic have only been attempted on the very smallest scale." Since that was written the main canal on the Godavery has been opened, and the following has been the result.

Colonel Cotton, the originator and constructor of the Godavery works, writes,—

"With respect to the internal traffic, the returns I have now received (July, 1856) show that the number of

boats passing through the head of the channel to the port of Coringa was as follows :—

“ For eight months ending April, 1852 ...	752 boats
“ For year ending April, 1853 ... ... ...	2,297 „
” ” 1854 ... ... ...	7,362 „
” ” 1855 ... ... ...	8,349 „

“ Besides 933 rafts of timber and bamboos in the last year. The other two main channels leading from the *anicut* (or dam) were not opened till later, and I have returns from them only for two years. They show the number of boats for the whole three channels :—

“ For the year ending April, 1854 ...	11,274 boats
” ” 1855 ...	18,818 „

Increase in one year ... . . . 7,544 or 60 p.ct.

“ Besides the boats, there passed in the last year 2,270 rafts of timber and bamboos, making a total of 21,000, or nearly eighty every working day in the year. At present the only limit to the traffic is the delay in constructing boats fast enough. Again, on the *principal line* there has already passed, in a single month, 1,137 boats and 644 rafts,—together 1781, or nearly sixty per day on an average of the whole month, and probably more than one hundred on some days.

“ Such are the results already achieved, though as yet no communication is open to the two important points,—the great town of Masulipatam, and the chief *entrepot* for internal trade, Ellore.

“ Many of the branch channels are not open to the main channel (being closed with wiers) till locks can be built, and many branches remain to be cut. When the

works are completed, they will afford 1,000 miles of canal navigation, where eight years ago there was not one."

The importance of navigation by means of the several rivers in India has been admitted by all the authorities to whom the subject has been proposed; yet by the circumstances of their being shallow in the hottest weather, and occasionally obstructed by impediments, the Natives of India have been prevented from making any attempt to carry on inland intercourse by these means. One occasionally meets at large towns in the interior permanent ferries throughout the year, and here and there a few clumsily-built boats; but as they have hitherto never learnt how to construct well-built *roads*, first introduced into Europe by McAdam only half a century ago, it is not surprising that they should, in the low state of the mechanical arts among them, have neglected the advantages which nature offered to them of rendering their rivers available for traffic. The skill and energies of Cautley and Cotton in the north and in the south of India have, with the assistance of Government, pointed out the path for private enterprise to follow.

So little however is yet known of the condi-

tion of the numerous rivers which run waste into the ocean, that it would be hazardous to pronounce at what cost each may be made navigable. It is an engineer's question, but until it is satisfactorily answered, few private parties would engage in remote speculations without more information than the public has at present; but where that knowledge has been obtained, private enterprise has been rewarded by great returns. For instance, we find a private company, with very insufficient supply of steam-power, in the Ganges, dividing, according to authentic documents, 48 per cent. per annum, in the employment of steam-tugs. On the Godavery, hitherto an unnavigable river, we find 55 per cent. to be the profit accruing from a single steamer; and the increase of traffic on the latter river, amounting to twelvefold in the course of four years, offers a very profitable result.

The Ganges, the Indus, the Irrawaddy, and the Godavery, are now occupied by steamers, and the traffic is so rapidly increasing, that the time has arrived when the inland trade of India by these means must be more extensively supplied with carriage than heretofore.

A vast field, therefore, lies open to the profitable employment of English capital in such an enterprise. Nor are the Natives themselves indifferent to these speculations. The Parsees in Bombay are extensively concerned in the steam-navigation of the western coast. Many Natives have shares in the Godavery Steam Company, and a new company has lately been formed at Madras, got up entirely by Natives, for navigating the coast by steamers, which is already in operation.

The importance of employing steam-power for many miles up the Godavery, has been forcibly stated in paragraphs 433 to 439 of the report of the Madras Commissioners of 1852 before quoted,\* who also refer to a letter dated 4th March of that year, on the same subject, from the Madras Chamber of Commerce, pointing out the advantages to the public, as well as to the Government, by the latter aiding in rendering that river navigable at all times, whereas at present it is so only for 400 miles at particular seasons. For some

\* The portions of the Madras Commissioners' Report and the letter of the Madras Chamber of Commerce, above referred to, are too long for quotation.

years the mercantile house of Palmer and Co., of Hyderabad, transported cotton in considerable quantities from the interior, during the freshes; but the want of steam-navigation, and the absence of the necessary means for bringing the boats up the stream during the rapids, together with the failure of the house of Messrs. Palmer and Co., from causes wholly irrespective of this traffic, prevented its continuation.

Nor has the Madras Government, nor the home authorities, been indifferent to this subject. A small steamer of too weak power penetrated for 400 miles up this river during the rainy season, and so satisfied was the Government with the trial, that they ordered a detailed report to be drawn up of the obstacles to navigation at all seasons of the year, and the cost of removing them. A survey was undertaken in the beginning of 1856, and completed with minute details as to expense. The report is before the home authorities, and there is every reason to believe that the work, which has been partially commenced, will be sanctioned and carried out.

The rivers Gogra and Gomty, passing

through the territory of Oude, are also in progress of improvement, and shallow steamers have already been ordered for the navigation of the Megna, one of the feeders of the Bramapootra. Engineers who have been employed in surveying the rivers of India, are of opinion that in a few years ten thousand miles of inland navigation will be available for steamers and barges, where hitherto there were none, hardly one canal, and but few metalled roads.

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### PART III.—ROADS.

IN spite of all other measures to improve the condition of the country, it ought to have been evident to every statesman, more particularly to English statesmen, that the first step towards prosperity is the facilitating internal communication by good roads. How could colonists in a new country succeed without substantial roads? They are the veins and the arteries which nourish commerce and give to it vitality; but all the effect of good Government, and protection of person and property,

will not avail to render a country rich, and its population prosperous, till a complete net-work of roads intersects it, and cheap and easy communication from one station or town to another is established. In vain were these sentiments addressed to the home authorities by our Governments abroad for more than half a century without producing any effect. Highways, termed military roads, were directed to be made from station to station. The work was entrusted to unskilful hands, who lavished the public money, both for want of knowledge and by the incomplete manner in which the so-called roads were constructed. The first or second rainy season rendered them altogether impassable. The Government consoled itself with the reflection, that where the rains were so heavy and the rivers so impetuous, the construction of roads in India was impracticable. At all events, instead of viewing internal communication as a primary object, it was long looked upon as the last thing which required attention. At length, about twenty years ago, an apprehension was awakened of a possible failure of the supply of cotton from America, and all eyes were turned towards the East.

Experiments were made in every part to grow the American cotton, and Indian cotton, when cleaned, was found to be a tolerable substitute for that of the United States. A parliamentary inquiry on this subject terminated by declaring its conviction that nothing was wanted to enable India to supply the whole of Europe, if necessary, with cheap and good cotton, but a modification of the land-tax, and good roads available at all seasons of the year. On further inquiry, it was found that the finest cotton-fields were in the country of an independent Native sovereign (the Nizam); that the price of excellent cotton in his dominions was low, but that the want of roads rendered it impossible to bring it from the interior to the coast sufficiently cheap to be a source of profit to the merchant.

It was in this state of public feeling that the Indian home authorities were urged to create *railroads*, and they yielded to the pressure. They, however, strenuously resisted the appeal to construct them themselves, though the Government at home and abroad felt the desirability of having the entire control over them, both in the course of construction and after

their completion. Under such conditions the English public refused to engage in the work, till by a compromise the money was raised and railways were commenced. The East-India Government agreed to pay five per cent. on all moneys advanced for the construction of railroads in India under the following condition :—First, that a director nominated by the Home Government should sit at the railway board in London, who should have a casting vote on all propositions to be first submitted to him ; secondly, that the lines of railroad should be approved by the home authorities, and that a superintending engineer on the part of the Government should overlook the works in India. That the interest advanced by Government on railway expenses should be repaid out of the working profit, and that no dividend beyond five per cent. should accrue till the whole amount advanced was repaid. According to the last accounts a sum of £9,599,624 has been expended, and £900,000 interest has been paid thereon. The sum authorized to be expended is £15,533,000, which will probably be worked off in the ensuing year, and a permanent demand on the Exchequer of £800,000

annually will have to be paid, till the whole advance has been liquidated. These constructions are denominated "trunk lines." They extend from three or four points, more than a thousand miles apart, and approach each other till they meet, leaving the many thousand miles of intermediate space without road at all. Trunk roads of this description would never pay in Europe, unless intersected by numerous roads and towns, nor can it be anticipated that these railroads will be profitable, until roads or canals or rivers rendered navigable, convey the traffic of the intermediate spaces to the railway-stations. There are those who believe that the roads should have been first made at a considerably less amount than is now sunk in the payment of interest on railway property, and that the railroads might then have been made with a certainty of profit, which at present is more than problematical. Howbeit, the construction of these magnificent trunk lines, of from 1,200 to 1,600 miles in length, and unequalled in any other part of the globe, will prove of the greatest advantage to the Government in a military point of view, for if they do

not convey troops to the very spot they may be required, they will convert marches of weeks into days, and of months into weeks. The necessity for the formation of substantially built roads and bridges has now become apparent, but the Government has yet to learn that their completion alone will fulfil the object for which railways were established. Having said so much on the subject of railroads, let us see how little has been done, and what is doing for ordinary roads.

Previously to the commencement of the railway, a few short roads had been made in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, which, like other public works of utility, had repaid their expenses, and were still paying, in the shape of tolls or customs at the seaports, double the amount previously realized. Several other roads were begun, but a conclusion was drawn, that no roads could stand the effects of Indian monsoons. This has since been found to be a delusion; nor is it true that India possesses no materials sufficiently durable to answer the purpose. At length the home authorities, in 1845, authorized an expenditure of £40,000 a year for the construction of roads in Madras.

The condition of the roads and the expenditure is thus adverted to in the Report of the Madras Commission, which sat in 1854 (p. 44). In the twenty years from 1826 to 1845, the average yearly outlay on the communications of the whole Presidency of Madras (138,249 square miles) had been 1,16,926 Rs., or £11,692. 12s. sterling. With the year 1846 a new era commenced, and the operations and the expenditure became somewhat larger. In the year 1845, the home authorities authorized an annual expenditure at the rate of four lacs of rupees (£40,000 sterling), for the construction and repair of roads, of which three diverged from the Presidency: first, to the west, 200 miles; second, to the south, 205 miles; third, to the north, with a branch inland to Cuddapah, 785 miles; with a fourth from the Mysore country, through Kûrg, to Mangalore, on the western coast: total, 1,295 miles. The steps taken to carry these measures into effect have not been successful, and it was found that, owing to the absence of sufficient scientific supervision, instead of the expenditure of £240,000 having been made, as was authorized, only £130,000 had been spent in six

years, and the greater part of that sum was laid out in the northern route, in repairing and rendering passable the imperfect road, of 676 miles, to which allusion has been before made. The Report observes that :—

“ The roads now existing in this Presidency may be divided into three classes :—

“ 1. Roads partially bridged and metalled, but not kept by any means in first-rate order. Such is the western trunk road.

“ 2. Roads formed and partially bridged, but unmetalled. Such are the best in the Tanjore and Salem districts.

“ 3. Tracks just practicable for carts for two-thirds or three-fourths of the year.”\*

Of the first of these classes, there is a very limited amount, not more than 300 to 400 miles ; of the second class there is more, possibly 2,000 miles ; but the vast bulk of the communications of the country are of the third class. After going into much detail on the cost of a first-class road (“ of which we cannot show *one single* mile in the whole country”), and to keep it in order, the Commission goes to prove that such roads alone, though comparatively expensive, are the only ones that

\* December, 1852. Madras Report, p. 171.

will repay their cost, and will add not only to the wealth of the people, but also to the finances of the state.

We hear little of roads constructed in Bombay, excepting the railroad.

In Bengal the great trunk road from Calcutta to Benares, 400 miles long, laid down in 1796, and repaired annually at an expense of about £4,000, had not been metalled nor bridged, nor properly drained, till after I saw it in 1831. It was in such a state in 1846, that the officers required to join the army from Calcutta in the field, on the Sutlej were expedited in palanquins,—on men's shoulders, at the rate of three miles an hour, and only two could be so dispatched daily, with all the exertions of the Government; but matters have since mended, and the late Governor-General thus describes this road, which has now been extended beyond Delhi as far as Amballa.

His lordship observes:—

“The grand trunk road which had, speaking generally, been completed in 1853 as far as Delhi, has since been carried on without interruption.” He observes, however, “that several of the large bridges had been unfortunately washed away by the force of the floods; that a bridge

over the Soane (three miles wide) had not yet been begun, but that a causeway, as a temporary expedient, was in the course of construction (1856). When the Punjab became a British province, the prolongation of the grand trunk road across its breadth was seen to be an object of primary importance. Accordingly, the line has been carried from Lodhianah by Jullunder to the Beeas, and thence by Umritsur to Lahore, and from Lahore by Wuzurabad to Jhilem, Rawilpindee, and Attock, to Peshawar.

"Vast expense has been incurred. But the road is rapidly approaching to completion, and by its usefulness will repay a THOUSAND-FOLD the labour and the treasure it has cost. Besides this road in the Punjab, others have been constructed during the last seven years for every different purpose,—military, commercial, and local." A full description will be found in the Punjab Report which has been printed.

Roads have also been constructed in other directions, to communicate with our distant province of Pegu. His lordship complains, however, that for want of engineers the roads in other parts of India cannot at present be constructed.

In the Statistical Report of the East-India House of 1853 the construction of roads is alluded to, and a map exhibiting two great trunk roads are laid down; the one from Calcutta to the north-west, which, though marked out 400 miles in length, as far as Benares, sixty

years ago, was only really commenced to be constructed forty years afterwards. In 1836 metal was for the first time laid down; drains were constructed, bridges (many of which have since broken down) were built, and the road continued to Delhi 887 miles, and subsequently as far as Kurnoul, 78 miles further on; total, 965 miles. From thence it has been surveyed 458 miles beyond, as far as Peshawar, the whole distance being 1,423 miles,—a gigantic work truly. The sum expended in carrying on the work as far as Dehli, including bridges, amounted to £819,410, or nearly £1,000 per mile, exclusive of the expense of convict labour. The cost of keeping it in repair is estimated at £35 per mile, or for the whole distance £50,000.

2nd. The Bombay and Agra road, a branch from the great trunk-road, was commenced under Lord Auckland's administration in 1840; its length is 734 miles, viz. :—

Agra to Indore	...	...	370	miles
Indore to Akberpore	...	...	51	"
Akberpore to Sindiva	...	...	43	"
Sindiva to Bombay	...	...	270	"
Total	...	...	734	miles

This, not being macadamized, except in parts, is, for all mercantile purposes, during four months of the year impassable. The expense of construction amounted to £243,676, or about £330 a mile, and the cost of annual repair is estimated at £7 a mile.

A third road, from Calcutta to Bombay, extending 1,170 miles, was sanctioned in 1840. Previously to that time a metalled road had been constructed part of the way between Bombay and Ahmednuggur, 164 miles, but it does not appear that it has been carried on beyond the latter place. It might well have been constructed to Nagpoor, and thence to Jabalpoor, for the cotton traffic to the coast, but it is now proposed to wait till the railway can reach Nagpoor. In the state of the country between Nagpoor and Calcutta, owing to the dense forests, it would be both difficult and dangerous, on account of the climate, to carry out the original project.

In the North-western Provinces the one-percent. fund, paid by the landowners for the purpose of roads, is re-distributed among local committees; and such have been the good effects of this recent arrangement that, inde-

pendently of a cross-road properly metalled between Cawnpore and Calpee, 40 miles in length, other cross-roads have been constructed by the committees within the province of 300 miles in extent, and are annually increasing.

A mistaken notion long prevailed that the natives would resist the payment of tolls on roads, though, in another shape, they have been familiar with such a tax from the earliest ages. An Act (No. 8 of 1851) was passed to levy tolls, according to a fixed schedule, on roads and bridges thereafter made or repaired at the expense of Government; the net proceeds to be appropriated to the construction of roads and bridges in the Presidency from which they are drawn. It is anticipated, as the traffic of the country increases, new roads will be constructed.

A table given at the end of the Report on Public Works, shows that for roads and bridges alone there had been expended throughout all India, on an average, £141,461 annually, being about ten per cent. on the gross revenue of the country. The amount expended in other public works (for irrigation principally) is about as much more.

Well-metalled and well-drained roads have been constructed among the Himalaya mountains within the last two years, which have not cost more than £90 a mile. Roads in the Deccan, of a similar nature, with metal laid on, the width of 18 feet, and maintained during the first year, only cost £150 per mile; and there can be no doubt that well-constructed roads, with stone drains, causeways, and even bridges of ten or fifteen feet span, could be constructed throughout India at a rate not exceeding, on an average, £250 a mile. If £330 a mile be allowed to include substantial bridges, thirty miles of road could be made at the cost of one mile of railroad. Had the nine hundred thousand pounds already paid in interest, before any profit has accrued on the railways, been expended during the last six years, two hundred and seventy thousand miles of roads had been completed, and a solid basis laid, on which railway traffic might have been remunerative. As it is, the cost of constructing twenty-one thousand miles of road will have to be paid annually to railroads for an indefinite period. Taking this view of the primary necessity of high roads, it has occurred to me

that the funds now set apart for the construction of roads, will be perfectly inadequate to fulfil the object within a limited period, and barely sufficient to keep them in repair. To meet this expense, however, I would suggest that all the money received back from railroad profits in liquidation of the advances made to them, should, instead of being applied to other purposes, be rendered applicable to the making of well-metalled roads.

The following sums have been devoted to public works during the last three years, including more than half a million annually for interest of the principal embarked on railway expenditure :—

In 1853-54	...	...	...	£2,520,000
In 1854-55	...	...	...	3,000,000
In 1855-56	...	...	...	2,250,000

It is hoped that no relaxation on the part of the Home Government will take place in these important measures for improving the condition of the people, and enriching the Government, which, as the Marquis Dalhousie has wisely said, "will repay a thousand-fold the labour and treasure they may cost."

It is to be hoped that the necessity of making well-metalled roads will be speedily recognized, and that a body of not less than 1,000 well-skilled overseers or superintendents will be sent out to India to accomplish that very important desideratum, and that they be added to the strength of the Sappers and Miners of the three Establishments.

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PART IV.—POSTAL COMMUNICATIONS AND  
ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH.

AMONG other benefits conferred on the subjects over which he ruled, the Governor-General undertook the reform of the postage department, and changed a really onerous burthen and an unsafe and tardy means of conveyance, to an improved state of things heretofore unknown. His first step was to reduce the amount of postage to every part of India, to about  $\frac{3}{4}d.$  per half-ounce, and to establish, throughout the country, conveyance, either on horseback or otherwise, which for eighty long years had been effected by foot-runners.

## ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH.

The last, and certainly not the least, of all the benefits he has conferred on India, is the establishment of the Electric Telegraph. We are not ignorant of its wonderful effects among ourselves, but there is something so striking in the energy and ability with which it was conducted, through the agency of one gentleman, Dr. O'Shaughnessy,\* that some account of its merits to be everywhere known.

I cannot give the account of its progress and completion in better language than the Governor-General himself:—

“In November, 1853, the construction of the telegraph line from Calcutta to Agra was commenced. On the 24th March, 1854, a message was sent over the line from Agra to Calcutta,—a distance of 800 miles, which had been completed within five months.

“On the 1st February, 1855—fifteen months after the commencement of the work,—the superintendent was able to notify the opening of all the lines. From Calcutta to Agra, and thence to Attock (on the Indus); and again from Agra to Bombay, and thence to Madras.

\* It is satisfactory to know that the services of Dr. O'Shaughnessy have been recognized by Her Majesty, who has conferred on him the honour of knighthood.

These lines included forty-one offices, and were extended over 3,050 miles of space. Nor is this all : since the commencement of the past year, the line of electric telegraph has been completed to Peshawur. It has been extended to Ootacamund (on the Nelgherry Hills), and is nearly finished from Rangoon to Meeady (in Ava).

"To sum up in a single sentence : the superintendent has stated in his last report, that 4,000 miles of electric telegraph have been laid down, and placed in working order, since the month of November, 1853."

It is due to Dr. O'Shaughnessy to state a few of the difficulties he had to encounter, and in what manner he overcame them. Throughout Central India, for instance, he states,—

"The country crossed opposes enormous difficulties to the maintenance of any line. There is no metalled road ; there are few bridges ; the jungles also in many places are deadly for at least half the year ; there is no police for the protection of the lines. From the loose black cotton soil of Malwa, to the rocky wastes of Gwalior, and the precipices of the Sindwa Ghats, every variety of obstacles has to be encountered.\*

"On the lines that have been mentioned, about seventy principal rivers have been crossed, some by cables, others by wires extended between masts.

"Some of these river-crossings have been of great extent. The cable across the Soane measures 15,840

\* Report, 9th Feb. 1856, para. 26.

feet ; and the crossing of the Toonbuddra river is stated to be not less than two miles in length.

"The cost of constructing the electric telegraph in India cannot yet be accurately calculated. The superintendent, in his last report, has stated it as his belief, that the 'total cost of everything,—construction of 4,000 miles as they at present stand, working of all the offices for two years, spare stores in hand, instruments, houses, &c.,' will not exceed 21 lacs of Rs., or little more than 500 Ra. a mile.\*

"It is to be observed that the construction of the line, though rapid, is for the most part already substantial. The superintendent states that the line 'for three-fourths of the distance from Madras to Calcutta is superior in solidity to any ever erected elsewhere.'† On some portions of its length it stands without a rival in the world. For instance, in the Madras Presidency, the line for 174 miles is borne on stone masonry pillars capped with granite ; while for 332 miles it is sustained 'on superb granite, sixteen feet high above ground, in single slabs.'‡

"It is satisfactory to be able to add, that the superintendent has officially stated that the tariff of charges on the Indian lines 'is now as cheap as that in use in any other country, having lines of such length as permit a fair comparison with ours.'§

"Thus it is stated that in England a message of twenty words sent 400 miles would be charged five shillings. The charge in India for twenty-four words to Benares, 420 miles, is 3s. ||

\* Report, 9th Feb. 1856, para. 66.

† Ibid. para. 81.

‡ Ibid. para. 32.

§ Ibid. para. 68.

|| Ibid. para. 70.

" Again, in the lines on the continent of Europe, a message of twenty-four words, sent from London to Trieste, would cost twenty-two shillings. A similar message of twenty-four words, sent from Calcutta to Bombay (about the same distance, 1,600 miles, as from London to Trieste), would be 12s.\*

" For a comparison of the charges for greater distances than these, we must look to the United States of America.

" The superintendent states that a message of sixteen words sent from New York to New Orleans, 2,000 miles, would cost 13s. 6d. A similar message of sixteen words sent from Calcutta to Bangalore, which is more than 2,000 miles, costs only 10s.†

" Allusion has been made to the physical difficulties which obstructed the formation of the telegraph lines in India. But these were by no means the most serious difficulty with which the superintendent has had to contend. An entire establishment for the working of the lines was to be formed from the commencement ; and the materials from which to form it were scanty, and by no means of the best description.

" Hence the superintendent states, even in his last report,‡ that his 'chief and almost insurmountable difficulty' has lain in the sudden and simultaneous training of some 300 persons, employed in sixty different offices. And while the superintendent affirms that the signallers generally are expert and capable of accurate manipulation, yet, in respect of steadiness and other requisite qualities, he records that there is both room and need for great improvement.

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\* Report, 9th Feb. 1856, para. 74.    † Ibid. para. 76.

‡ Ibid. para. 100.

"I could myself bear testimony to the accuracy and rapidity with which the telegraph is worked, but I prefer to quote the recorded statements of the superintendent.

"Referring to allegations of inaccuracy in the Telegraph Department, the superintendent observes—'I can further establish by facts and official records beyond dispute, that the Indian lines have already accomplished performances of rapidity in the transmission of intelligence, which equal that achieved on the American lines. We have repeatedly sent the first bulletin of overland news in forty minutes from Bombay to Calcutta, 1,600 miles. We have delivered despatches from Calcutta to the Governor-General at Ootacamund, during the rainy season, in three hours, the distance being 200 miles greater than from London to Sebastopol. We have never failed for a whole year in delivering the mail news from England *via* Bombay within twelve hours.\* The superintendent states that the 'monthly cash receipts have, even in the first year, very largely exceeded the sum anticipated (namely, Rs. 10,000), and that they exhibit a steady and constant increase from month to month.'†

"The political and the military advantages which the Government of the country derives from the possession of such an engine of power are too obvious to call for notice. But two remarkable instances of its efficacy, which have fallen within my own immediate knowledge, will afford an illustration of its political value, which will not be without interest.

"When Her Majesty's 10th Hussars were ordered with all speed from Poona to the Crimea, a message requesting

instructions regarding their despatch was one day received by me at Calcutta from the Government of Bombay, about nine o'clock in the morning. Instructions were forthwith sent off by the telegraph in reply; and an answer to that reply was again received at Calcutta from Bombay in the evening of the same day. A year before, the same communications for the despatch of speedy reinforcements to the seat of war, which occupied by the telegraph no more than twelve hours, could not have been made in less than thirty days.

"The other instance was of a similar character.

"When it was resolved to send Her Majesty's 12th Lancers from Bangalore to the Crimea, instead of Her Majesty's 14th Dragoons from Meerut, orders were forthwith despatched by telegraph direct to the regiment at Bangalore.

"The corps was immediately got ready for service. It marched 200 miles, to Mangalore, and was there before the transports were ready to receive it.

"In both cases the effect was the same. The electric telegraph enabled the authorities in India to give to Her Majesty's Government, in its hour of need, two magnificent cavalry corps of not less than 1,300 sabres, and to dispatch them to the Crimea with a promptitude and timely alacrity which exceeded all expectations; and which, in the circumstances of the previous year, would have been utterly impracticable.

"On the 7th of February, as soon as the administration of Oude was assumed by the British Government, a branch electric telegraph from Cawnpore to Lucknow was forthwith commenced. In eighteen working days it was completed, including the laying of a cable, 6,000 feet in length, across the river Ganges. General Outram was

asked by telegraph, 'Is all well in Oude?' The answer, 'All is well in Oude,' was received soon after noon, and greeted Lord Canning on his first arrival."

While these sheets are in the press it has been announced, that the home authorities have sanctioned the extension of the telegraph lines 3,000 miles farther, and that Sir W. B. O'Shaughnessy has been empowered to select a number of competent young men in England to accompany him to India for the purpose of working the new lines.

## CHAPTER VI.

## PART I.—GENERAL EDUCATION.

THE Marquis Wellesly was the first of the Governors-General in India who took part in the question of education. He was not ignorant of the literary treasures contained in the classical languages of India, but on inquiry he found the scholastic institutions which existed both under the Hindu and Mahomedan princes, whose places we were fast occupying, were in a great measure neglected, and that under our Government they had met with no encouragement, and must soon fall into decay. Independently of Native education, he perceived one of the greatest defects of our own Government was, that few among the European civil functionaries fulfilling the most important duties which can fall to the lot of man, knew enough of the language of the people over whom they were called on to rule, to enable them clearly to understand what they

heard, much less to converse with fluency. Accordingly, in conjunction with the authority of the Court of Directors, in the first year of the present century, he established a college for the reception of all young civilians on their arrival at Calcutta, to afford them an opportunity of learning the language of business. This was accompanied by a regulation which required every newly-arrived civilian, whether of the Bengal, Madras, or **Bombay** establishment, to proceed to Calcutta and remain in college till he had acquired a certain amount of proficiency in certain of the Native languages. This plan afterwards underwent great modification, and it was found most expedient that the Calcutta college should be confined to the civilians of the Bengal Presidency; that they should no longer live within college walls, but that they should be required to attend the professors daily, and be subject to periodical examinations. It was decreed also that public employment and increase of salary should depend entirely on the certificates obtained.

The only college which had been previously established was the Mahomedan Madrasa, or college founded by Mr. Warren Hastings, in

1782, for the study of Moslem literature, comprising Arabic and Persian, to which was afterwards superadded classes for the study of English and Bengali.

The Madrasa is thus constituted :—

*The English Department.*

- One English head-master.
- Two second-masters (Hindus).
- One Bengali master (Hindu).
- One English librarian.
- One Hindu sub-assistant surgeon.

*Statement exhibiting the Number and the Religion of the Pupils on the 30th April, 1854.*

Departments.	Number of Pupils.	Christians.	Mahomedans.	Hindus.	Remarks.
Arabic Department	173	—	173	—	The whole of these Students learn Persian as well as Arabic.
English Department	94	—	94	—	
Bengali Department	47	—	47	—	

It has 12 senior scholarships at from £24 to £18 a year, and 16 junior scholarships at from £9 to £12 a year.

At a subsequent period in the year 1823, a Sanscrit college was founded in Calcutta, in

which were professors of Sanscrit, English, Arabic, and Persian, as also Urdu and Bengali, the two latter being vernacular dialects of the lower Bengal provinces.

In the year 1854, it is thus reported on :— It contains altogether 386 pupils, all Hindus, one-third of whom study Sanscrit, and the remainder English: the other professors have no pupils.

It is divided into the following classes :—

Philosophy	...	...	...	...	16
Law	...	...	...	...	12
Rhetoric	...	...	...	...	19
Literature	...	...	...	...	33
Grammar	...	...	...	...	219
Juniors under the tuition of monitors	...	...	...	...	87
<hr/>					
Total	...	...	...	...	386

The study of mathematics, hitherto taught in Sanscrit, is now confined to English.

There are thirty scholarships, receiving, according to classification, from £12 to £48 per annum.

The impetus thus given was rapidly followed by the establishment of English schools by the Natives themselves. Of the three classical Oriental languages taught in the colleges, the

Persian attracted most attention, because it was that in which all correspondence with the Native princes was maintained, as well as being the language in which the Native accounts and the records of the courts of justice were kept. It was to the Mahomedans what French was once to the English; but the good sense of the people in the latter, and that of the Government in the former case, has abolished both. This change, however, only took place in India as late as 1835.

In the year 1819, the Hon. Mount Stuart Elphinstone succeeded to the office of Governor of Bombay. He had passed twenty-three years in India, and had during that period fulfilled some of the highest duties of Government. His early attention as Governor was drawn to the state of education of the inhabitants, and he instituted a college, in which the vernacular language was taught grammatically, preparatory to the study of English. The object of the former being to lay the foundation of a rigid form of literature, and of the latter to enable the Natives to translate, for the purpose of publication and diffusion throughout the country, useful works for the improvement of the moral

condition and the expansion of the minds of the people. The scheme has been extremely successful. A college at Bombay, and another at Poona, have furnished a great number of well-trained masters; and there are now 235 schools, and 12,384 scholars, maintained at the public expense. Assuming that each pupil is four years at school (and they seldom remain longer), and we take two-thirds of this number as the average of the last thirty-five years, we should have had useful education imparted to about 70,000 Natives, substantially educated at the sole expense of the Government, independent of private tuition, or that which is acquired in the parish schools, purely for commercial purposes.

While these measures were in contemplation, Sir Thomas Munro, another distinguished public servant, of a longer standing even than Mr. Elphinstone, was appointed Governor of Madras, and proceeded to his office by the route of Bombay, where he had an opportunity of discussing this important measure of education with his friend Governor Elphinstone. Shortly after his arrival at the seat of Govern-

ment, he took steps to ascertain the condition of education in the Madras Provinces.

The Reports received from the eight principal divisions were as follows:—

Collectorates of from 800,000 to 1,000,000 of Inhabitants.	Colleges.	Students.
Rajahmundry ... ... ...	272	1,454
Masulipatam ... ... ...	49	199
Chingleput, or Southern Division of Arcot ... ... ...	51	398
North Division of Arcot ... ...	69	{ Number not given
Tanjore ... ... ...	109	769
Tritchinopoly ... ... ...	9	131
Coimbatore ... ... ...	173	724
Malabar ... ... ...	1	75
Total Colleges ...	733	3,750

These colleges are described as institutions “consisting of buildings and a number of professors supported by endowments of land or money, from the ruling kings, or some wealthy Pagoda.

“ The alumni were young men of advanced scholarship, chiefly Brahmins, and often devoted to a religious life, in some one of the many forms prescribed in Hinduism.

The professors were of course Brahmins, each giving himself up to that science in which he most excelled. The subjects most commonly studied were, theology, law, and astronomy.

"How far the colleges returned as such in the documents forwarded answered to this description does not clearly appear. At all events, they were of a different character from those institutions known as village schools."

Independently of the above description, no special inquiry seems to have been required or made.

The population at Madras in 1822, according to a census made about that period, amounted to 12,850,941, among which there were reported to be the following number of colleges, schools of all descriptions, and students of both sexes :—

Colleges and Schools.	STUDENTS.	
	Boys.	Girls.
12,498	188,650	1,548

Of the girls, many were the daughters of Brahmins, and some of the dancers and singers,

attendants on temples and at Hindu religious and domestic festivals.

Of the number of boys between five and twelve, fit to be at school, according to the calculation made of that portion of the population, about one-third were receiving education at colleges or schools, independently of private tuition, of which no return was made.\*

Sir Thomas Munro seems to have taken the same view of education for the Natives as Mr. Elphinstone. This involved a better description of moral teaching in the vernacular languages, to be effected through the means of Native students at a college to be founded at the Presidency for the purpose of forming normal schoolmasters. These were required in the first instance to be thoroughly grounded in their vernacular languages, with a competent knowledge of Sanscrit, and subsequently to be taught English, so as to be able to read, write,

\* The return states that the male pupils were as follows :—

Brahmins	...	...	...	...	...	42,502
Mercantile class	...	...	...	...	...	19,690
Agricultural and other classes	...					126,458

Total   ...   ...   ...   188,650

and translate correctly. This done, it was proposed that the proficients should be sent as teachers to the several collectorates, and establish at the head-quarters of each a school for normal tuition. As the students became competent to teach, they were to be spread through the districts in the principal towns, carrying with them the well-grounded knowledge they had acquired, and diffusing through the country the books, whether of their own literature or translated from the English, which were from time to time printed at the Government press of the Presidency : the whole to be regulated by a Council of Education at Madras, consisting partly of Europeans and partly of Natives of education.

According to this plan there were to have been eventually distributed in the districts, 340 schoolmasters,—forty of whom, at the capitals of collectorates, were to receive £18 per annum, and 300 into towns at £10. 16s. per

\* I believe this plan has not been carried out, and that a collegiate institution, which has only educated 160 pupils, is the only public school as yet established in the Madras territory.

Next in order of time come the systems introduced into Bengal.

It has been shown that the Persian language prevailed hitherto as the language of all public business and the records of the courts of justice,—a language not understood by the parties themselves, whether in civil or criminal cases, and imperfectly by the European judges on the Bench. The latter, moreover, except in particular parts of the country, did not understand the vernacular dialect of the parties concerned. The experience of Lord William Bentinck as Governor of Madras, where the pleadings have always been conducted in the languages of the people, convinced him of the impropriety and inconvenience of continuing the practice of pleading in Persian, and he accordingly resolved to abolish it, and to substitute vernacular pleadings everywhere.

The abolition of Persian as the language of business throughout the Presidency of Bengal, naturally prompted the Governor-General to inquire into the state of vernacular education among the great body of the people. To this end, too, he selected Mr. William Adam, an American missionary—who had devoted

himself to the study of Sanscrit and the vernacular languages, and had been for some years actively engaged in secular education in the latter dialect—to proceed into the interior, for the purpose of inquiry. The statistical investigations of the Rev. Doctor Claudius Buchanan, throughout India and the Burmese empire, had afforded much of the information desired; but those had reference to an anterior period, whereas what was now desired was, to ascertain the actual condition of vernacular education in the Bengal provinces.

Mr. Adam left Calcutta in 1853, and entered on his mission, supported by the authority of Government to call on the civil authorities to give him every support, of which he did not fail to avail himself. Lower Bengal contains forty-one territorial divisions, some of which are inhabited to a great extent by aborigines—races unacquainted with the use of letters, and whose communities have never adopted the municipal institutions of the Hindus. In these villages it could not be expected to meet with schools of any description.

The information now acquired confirmed the statement of Doctor Buchanan and the mis-

sionaries (of whose labours I shall speak hereafter)—namely, that in almost every Hindu township there were elementary parish schools. The schoolmasters, independently of what they might derive from their official situations in villages, usually received about one shilling a month, and one day's unprepared food from each pupil, so that, with thirty regular pupils, each master was provided with board, besides £18 a year in money. The pupils usually enter at seven years of age, and leave school at between twelve and thirteen, by which time they have acquired a facility in reading, writing, and the elementary rules of arithmetic, usually learnt in verse, which the whole of each class repeat together frequently during the week, so that they are never forgotten in after life. Besides this instruction, they read books of amusement connected with local histories or the marvellous deeds of their hero-gods.

Mr. Adam concluded his labours, which are comprised in three reports, filling nearly 500 pages of closely printed letter-press.

In these reports he recommends the establishment of a Board of Education at the

Presidency, with a college for teaching the vernacular languages grammatically, and Sanscrit as the source of these languages; English for those who might be required to become schoolmasters, or to be employed in translating into the vernacular tongues such portions of European literature as are calculated to lay the foundation of sound moral principles of justice, truth, and benevolence towards mankind in general. He alludes to the success of Mr. Elphinstone's system, in Bombay, established twelve years before.

In order to diffuse this knowledge, Mr. Adam suggested that normal schools for the institution and examination of village schoolmasters should be established in each of the forty-nine districts into which Bengal is divided; that each district should, under the supervision of the chief European civil authority, and a committee composed partly of Europeans and partly of Natives, have a general supervision over schools deriving a limited amount of pecuniary aid from the Government, according to circumstances; that such schools should be provided with printed books, to be presented to such parish

schoolmasters as might desire to have them. These and other plans for education equally sensible, were brought forward in Mr. Adam's report, which at that time fell to the ground.

The supreme Government was rather disposed to confine Native education to the English language. Lord William Bentinck, supported by the legislative members of his Government, approved of it, and a trial of the scheme was carried out for some years. Colleges were founded at Calcutta and other parts, and schools extended for the purpose of teaching English. The progress of the pupils was rapid and surprising; but the diffusion of a foreign language through the agency of a few Europeans, to the disuse of their own in all public business, as well as in the general instruction of the people, was found to be hopeless, and has since been abandoned. To the Marquis Dalhousie, the late Governor-General of India, is due the organization of a system which evinces the same enlarged views that pervaded his whole administration.

With respect to the system of Lord Wm. Bentinck, Mr. W. Adam has the following sensible observations:—

"Those who have not received a good Native education first, find the English education they have received of little use to them. There is a want of sympathy between them and their countrymen, although they constitute a class from which their countrymen might derive much benefit. There is also little sympathy between them and the foreign rulers of their country, because they feel that they have been raised out of one class without having a recognized place in any other class. If they were employed in visiting the different districts as the agents of Government for promoting education, they would fulfil a high destination, satisfactory to their own minds, and would not fail to enjoy the respect of their countrymen."

Again, he observes—

"It is only by means of Native education that English principles and ideas can be generally transferred and incorporated with the Native character."

Next in order of time comes the educational system of the late Honourable Mr. Thomason, Lieutenant-Governor of the Agra Presidency. While that excellent and talented man was framing a revenue settlement for the North-western Provinces, he did not omit to secure a separate source for the maintenance of the roads throughout the country; nor did he overlook the necessity of education to a people, a great portion of whom went to village schools, but where they learnt literally

nothing to elevate them in the scale of civilization.

"Five years after the Government of Calcutta had shelved Mr. Adam's report, Mr. Thomason commenced his plan of education, in 1843. On the North-west Provinces being separated from Calcutta jurisdiction, he gave it as his opinion, that 'to produce any perceptible impression on the public mind in the North-west Provinces, it must be through the medium of the vernacular languages.' " \*

The smaller English schools were abolished, and instruction in that language was confined to the colleges.

In 1844 the Delhi Vernacular Translation Society was founded ; in 1846 it had published in Urdu fifty volumes, containing 14,000 pages, at a cost of about 16,000 Rs., or £1,600. Vernacular libraries were formed for distributing elementary vernacular works among the village schools ; and lists of the books were published. He addressed the European collectors and magistrates on the subject in these words : "Carry the people with you ; aid their efforts rather than remove from them all stimulus to exertion by making all the effort

\* Calcutta Review, vol. xxii. p. 312.

yourself." A portion of Mr. Adam's report was reprinted and circulated among the Government officers, and some of it was translated for the guidance of the Natives. In 1846 the Court of Directors approved of the system; and three years afterwards allowed £5,000 in aid of instruction.

By 1848, 16,500 copies of Mr. Thomason's elementary treatises were sold, and it became requisite to appoint a school-book agent, who sold, in two years, in the eight districts, as many as 21,605 volumes, and calculated on the sale of 30,000 volumes annually.

The proposed plan, *for the present*, was as follows:—A superintendent, on £1,200 a year, and 1*s.* per mile travelling expenses, to be appointed, and inferior visitors to eight model districts; with thirty-three county visitors, and fifty-eight teachers to Tehsil, or minor district schools. The education was not intended to be showy, but essentially beneficial to the great body of the people, and included everything in literature, geography, history, and above all arithmetic and mensuration, with tables of weights and measures, and the relative value of coins and produce in given quantities.

In the year 1853, four years after, the Governor-General recorded an admirable minute on the subject, of which the following extract shows how highly he appreciated the labours of Mr. Thomason. It was written on the occasion of his successor, the Honourable Mr. Colvin, urging on the supreme Government the fulfilment of the plan of education only partially adopted by his predecessor.

"The scheme which was intended to be carried out to the whole thirty-five districts was limited by his Honour, for the time, to eight of those districts. In all these parts there is a population no less teeming, and a people as capable of learning. The same wants prevail, and the same moral obligation rests upon Government to exert itself for the purpose of dispelling the present ignorance.

"The sanction which the Lieutenant-Governor solicited for an increase of the means which experience has shown to be capable of producing such rich and early fruit, I now most gladly and gratefully propose. And while I cannot refrain from recording anew in this place my deep regret that the ear which would have heard this welcome sanction given with so much joy, is now dull in death. I desire at the same time to add the expression of my feeling, that even though Mr. Thomason had left no other memorial of his public life behind him, the system of general vernacular education, which is all his own,

would have sufficed to build up for him a noble and abiding monument to his earthly career."

The sanction obtained from the home authorities in 1849, for extending the school system as originally proposed by the Honourable Mr. Thomason, has been since eminently successful, so that in the year 1856 the Marquis Dalhousie writes :—"The indigenous schools of the North-west Provinces had increased from 2,014 to 3,669, and the scholars from 17,160 in 1849 to 36,884 in 1855." This number only includes those villages who have fallen into the new project.

In the Minute before adverted to the Marquis Dalhousie observes :—

"If education is good for these Provinces, for Bengal and Behar, it is also good for our new subjects beyond the Jumna. That it will not only be good for them, but most acceptable to them, no one can doubt, who has read the reports by Mr. Montgomerie and other Commissioners upon indigenous education in the Punjab, which showed results that were little expected."

These results are evinced in the following table, indicating the state of education existing in that Native principality, in spite of several years of civil war :—

—	Schools.	Students.
Arabic   ...   ...   ...   ...	166	1,108
Persian   ...   ...   ...   ...	337	2,188
Hindu   ...   ...   ...   ...	109	2,252
Gournoke (religious schools)	83	546
Sanscrit   ...   ...   ...   ...	76	1,311
Koran   ...   ...   ...   ...	255	1,190
Mixed   ...   ...   ...   ...	359	{ Number not enumerated.
Total   ...   ...   ...	1,385	11,500

These were private schools, independently of the parish schools.

Calcutta, though the first to form colleges, has so frequently changed the system of Government education, that it adopted the present universal system of vernacular tuition last of all.

To the late Governor-General, Marquis Dalhousie, is due the merit of standing forward as the champion of education, on a broad basis, and especially for vernacular tuition. It is admitted on all sides that a certain species of education pervades India, perhaps to as great

an extent as in many of the more civilized states of the world, but the nature of the instruction is so imperfect, that without the use of the press, the fruit falls to the ground as soon as it is formed, ere it attains maturity.

It was reported by the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, as long ago as 1803, that Native education existed extensively in the twenty-four Perganas, or counties, surrounding Calcutta. In a population of 1,625,000 inhabitants there were 190 schools, in which were taught Hindu law, grammar, and metaphysics. They were maintained by private voluntary subscriptions of opulent Hindus, and the produce of charity lands. The annual expense of such schools was £1,950 a year. These, it must be observed, were independent of the village schools. In Calcutta itself there were, in 1829, 111 private seminaries, among a population estimated at 300,000 inhabitants.

The town of Nuddea was once a famous seat of Hindu learning; Mr. Adam found forty-six schools, in which the pupils were of all ages, between twenty and twenty-five studying the higher branches of knowledge. In 1829, Pro-

fessor Wilson reported favourably of twenty-five establishments, in which were between five and six hundred students grown-up men. In a word, go east, west, north, and south, in India, we find schools, and the people desirous of instruction. They are naturally jealous of tuition that directly assails their religious prejudices, but they are greedy of information on all subjects connected with worldly affairs.

Serampore, near Calcutta, is a Danish settlement, celebrated for its college, its press, and missionary labours. It has always been liberally supported by the King of Denmark. Up to 1829, no less a sum than £21,838 had been expended on the college, of which £9,200, was contributed from the public revenue; the remaining £12,638 was obtained by private subscription. It has the finest library in India, and contains nearly 5,000 volumes. An observatory has been constructed at this place, nearly seventy feet high, and is situated so as to be free from the effect of the rumbling of carriages.

Bakergunj.—In this district the collector reported in 1823, that no endowment existed for the maintenance of schools. In 1829, the

judge persuaded a number of wealthy Natives to contribute for the support of schools, and a sum of £1,344 was soon subscribed. The Serampore missionaries also contributed something, but on their requiring the management to be placed in their hands, the Natives refused to receive their money, and conducted their schools under committees of their own.

The vernacular system, as well as higher branches of education, are taught at Calcutta, and are disseminated elsewhere. In Calcutta the Council of Education consists of the Honourable Sir W. Colville, President, with five other European gentlemen at the head of the Government, and two Native gentlemen, special magistrates and justices of the peace. The funds for the purposes of general education, by Government and private subscription, amounted on 1st May, 1854, to:—

General Fund	...	...	Rs. 7,10,599
New investment	...	...	50,000
Hooghly College	...	...	84,470
Hindu College	...	...	4,650
New investment	...	...	930
Sir Edward Ryan's Scholarship	...		400
			£85,104.18s.

The institutions consist of the Calcutta Mahomedan Colleges, or Madrasa, already described; Calcutta Sanscrit College, Calcutta Hindu College, Hooghly College, Dacca College, Kishnagur College, Calcutta Medical College and Hospital; besides thirty-seven schools in which the acquisition of the vernacular language grammatically was the basis on which English might or might not be learnt. The schools were amply provided with printed school-books in the vernacular languages, both in Oriental literature and translations from English. As the report from which I derive the above information extends to 497 pages, giving in the fullest detail the nature of the education, I cannot devote more than the above lines to show, that whatever struggles Government education has gone through, it is at length decided that it can only be diffused beneficially among the people in their own language, and through the agency of their own countrymen.

The Anglo-vernacular schools, including colleges, amount to 47. Teachers, 491; and students, at present, 7,412. Amount of

teachers' salary, £20,126; scholars' fees, £8,418.

During the long period wherein the Government itself had been so undecided, if not dilatory, in educating the people, another body independent of it had been active, both in the west and in the east. The labours of Schwartz and Colhoff, in Tanjore, half a century ago, have not been ineffectual; and thousands of Natives in the Southern Provinces of the Madras territory have long since embraced the religion of Christ. The conversion of these heathens has been effected by enlarging their minds by a system of general education. The Bible and tracts are only incidentally taught, after the Natives have acquired much secular instruction in their own languages.

The Rev. Missionary Ward, one of the most zealous, has taken the pains to analyze, according to his experience, the proportion of the several studies pursued by the Brahmins, which he thus divides:—

100	study Grammar.
50	" Poetry.
40	" Hindu Law.

30 study Logic.

5    "      Rhetoric.

5    "      Sacred Literature.

1    "      Astronomy (according to their works).

Students, before they leave college, if distinguished, receive from their fellow-students an honorary title, with the sanction of the head-master. This title must be different from any previously conferred on a member of the same family.\* Mr. Ward goes on to observe that the Mahomedans have few public schools ; they teach in private families, where they have classes of the friends of those at whose house they meet. They are taught to repeat parts of the Koran, without its being fully explained to them ; and to read and write Persian, both classical and poetical. The chief purpose is to earn a livelihood.

The object of the missionaries in the first place is, confessedly, to train up Natives in the English language, in order to teach in their own vicinities.

The societies which have engaged in this useful labour, though working separately, under

\* A species of degree.

different heads, in the West, maintain a constant intercourse with each other in the East, and act in union. These societies are:—

1. Church Missionary Society.
2. Church Missionary Association.
3. General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.
4. Bengal Benevolent Missionary Society.
5. Calcutta Baptist Missionary Society.
6. Calcutta School Society.
7. Calcutta High School Society.
8. Parental Academical Institution.
9. Philanthropic Academy.
10. Charitable and Orphan Institution.
11. Benevolent Institution of 1830.
12. Calcutta Catholic Society, 1830.

*Results of Missionary Labour in 1850.*

LOCALITIES.	Missionaries.	Native Preachers.	Stations.	Churches.	Members.	Christians.	English Schools.	Boys.
Bengal, Orissa, and Assam .....	101	135	69	71	3,486	14,401	22	6,054
North-west Provinces .....	58	39	24	21	608	1,528	16	1,207
Madras Presidency .....	164	308	113	162	10,468	74,518	44	4,156
Bombay Presidency .....	37	11	19	12	223	554	9	984
Ceylon .....	43	58	35	43	2,645	11,858	37	1,675
<b>TOTAL.</b> .....	<b>403</b>	<b>551</b>	<b>260</b>	<b>309</b>	<b>17,430</b>	<b>103,159</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>14,076</b>

*Missionary Vernacular Schools.*

LOCALITIES.	Day Schools.		Boarding Schools.		Day Schools.		Boarding Schools.	
	Schools.	Boys.	Schools.	Boys.	Schools.	Girls.	Schools.	Girls.
Bengal, Orissa, and Assam .....	127	6,369	21	761	26	690	28	836
North-west Provinces .....	33	3,078	10	209	8	213	11	208
Madras Presidency .....	852	61,366	22	754	222	6,029	41	1,101
Bombay Presidency .....	65	3,348	4	64	28	1,087	6	129
Ceylon .....	246	9,126	6	204	70	2,630	5	172
<b>TOTAL.</b> .....	<b>1,323</b>	<b>83,287</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>1,992</b>	<b>354</b>	<b>10,649</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>2,446</b>

The *Calcutta Review*, for the quarter ending in June, 1854, states :—

"It is a fact, that since the commencement of this century, 1,400 different works have been published in Bengali, many of them containing able disquisitions on medicine, philosophy, law, metaphysics, and religion ; a number of these have gone through twenty or thirty editions ; not less than a million and a half of copies of these works have been published and sold. Latterly the Vernacular Literature Committee has given us : 'Robinson Crusoe,' 'The Life of Clive,' 'Raja Pretassa Ditya,' 'Lamb's Tales,' selections from the Native press, and an excellent illustrated magazine. The language has been found quite adequate 'to express the subtleties of law and philosophy, and to impart the enthusiasm of poetry. Thirty thousand Bengali books issue annually from the press ; fifty new ones were published in 1852. Even the Mussulmans have published thirty books, in a dialect half Bengali, half Urdu. One hundred thousand Bengali almanacs are sold annually in Calcutta. The recent publication of a Bengali dictionary, the *Shabdám Budhí*, by a Native, containing 36,000 words, shows the progress and copiousness of the language.' Lord Hastings, when he had subdued the Mahrattas, fostered the Bengali press, in 1817, but since that it has never enjoyed the smiles of the authorities.

"The Marquis Dalhousie, however, has raised a spirit for general education, through the vernacular languages, which no power coming after him can lay."

The last Act of Parliament provided for an extension of the collegiate system to Madras, as

well as at Calcutta and Bombay; and provides for the endowment of 520 scholarships, at £11,831 per annum.

While these sheets are going through the press, we find the *Times*, copying from the *Friend of India*, has the following notice on female education in the Agra Presidency, where the fruits of Sir James Thomason's enlightened efforts are daily coming to maturity:—

#### “FEMALE EDUCATION IN INDIA.

“It is now beyond question that a great spontaneous movement in favour of Native female education has commenced in the vicinity of Agra. In our paper of the 25th of September, it was announced that Pundit Gopal Singh, one of the Zillah visitors of indigenous schools, had succeeded in establishing in the Agra district upwards of 50 schools, attended by 1,200 girls of the most respectable families. The hope was also expressed that the number of schools would be doubled in the course of the current year. This hope has been already far more than realized. We are informed that up to the first week of the present month, nearly 200 schools had been established, with an aggregate daily attendance of 3,800 girls. It is rather a social revolution than a local movement which Pundit Gopal Singh has inaugurated. Our information is not yet precise enough to enable us to trace the steps by which such results have been attained; but it appears that Pundit Gopal, who is a man of high

character, and of a social standing above his official position, was convinced that the failure of former attempts to establish girls' schools was attributable 'to the suspicion with which everything coming from a foreigner is received by the Natives, and to the want of co-operation of the educated Natives.' The fact is, when stated in less decorous language, that an educated Native cares nothing about education. 'But,' continues the Pundit, 'the establishment of a little school in which my own daughters and those of my immediate friends and relations attended at first, like a charm dispelled, in a great measure, the prejudices of my neighbours, and induced many to send their girls also. This example, and my constant persuasion and reasoning, have at last succeeded in inducing many respectable inhabitants of other villages to yield.' And so the movement bids fair to become national. The pupils are nearly all Hindus, belonging, as the European officials assure us, to the more respectable classes of the Native community. The teachers are all men. 'Want of female teachers,' says the Pundit, 'was one great obstacle in the way; but the guardians of the girls composing the respective schools, pointed out men of approved character, in whom they have full confidence, and I have appointed such persons only as teachers, and the result is very satisfactory.' Only at Agra, where the Pundit has persuaded the wealthy bankers and merchants to establish a girls' school, has any objection been taken to the male instructors. Wealthy, but uneducated bankers and merchants, are naturally the most bigoted of their race, since custom is always most tyrannical where luxury exists without education. But Agra will soon be abundantly supplied with teachers from among the more advanced pupils of the rural schools. One

more statement must close this enumeration of facts. Lieutenant Fuller, the Inspector of Schools reports that about one-tenth of the whole number of pupils are more than twenty years of age, the remainder varying from six to twenty years. The *Delhi Gazette*, in noticing these remarkable facts, suggests that Pundit Gopal should be at once relieved from all other duties, and enabled to devote himself entirely to a work for which he has shown such peculiar aptitude. The suggestion is a good one. The Pundit should receive a liberal salary, and should be left utterly free from the usual restraints. Too much interference, even too much patronage, on the part of English officials, might spoil all. The Pundit has evidently struck a vein of Native feeling which he must be allowed to pursue in his own way."—*Friend of India*.

With such abundant elements of national education in village schools, it could not be difficult to make use of them to higher purposes than at present. Where endowments in land and immunities exist, the Government has a right to exact the more perfect fulfilment of the duties of the teachers; and it might be promulgated, that after the present incumbents, the hereditary successors will be required to pass competent examinations at the local colleges, in the vernacular of their district, on certain essential points of knowledge, before they should succeed to the en-

dowments ; in failure of which, other masters of the same locality, if practicable, will be appointed to the office, and hold it as long as they conduct themselves properly.



## PART II.—MEDICAL EDUCATION.

WHILE secular education was thus progressing, the necessity for medical tuition forced itself on the consideration of the supreme Government so early as 1843 ; and the Council of General Education was requested to frame a plan for a medical college, to which should be attached a hospital ; to provide a class of Native practitioners fit to aid, and in case of necessity to fulfil the duties of surgeons educated in Europe.

All the students, having passed an examination in the vernacular language, are required also to pass in English, as the whole of the medical instruction is confined to that language.

This important branch of education is, for the most part, conducted by English practi-

tioners. Fourteen years had elapsed when the Report of 1854 was drawn up, and no fewer than 266 Native students had left the college with certificates, and had been appointed to public situations under Government. The following is, in substance, an abstract of this part of the General Report on Education :—

The college is under the control of the General Council of Education.

The Medical College Council consists entirely of professors of the English department; of which there are ten European, and one Native assistant-demonstrator of anatomy.

In the Military and Bengali department there are four Native lecturers.

The hospital establishment consists of five physicians, five surgeons (including a house surgeon and resident surgeon), and one apothecary.

Ninety-five students in the English class, of whom there are only four Mahomedans.

One hundred and twelve students in the Military and Bengali class.

The following tabular statement gives the number of students attending the several classes :—

CLASSES.	Number of Lectures.	Number of Students attending.	Daily Average.	
			Present.	Absent.
Anatomy and Physiology .	140	25	24	1
Descriptive and Surgical } Anatomy .....	100	31	29·50	1·50
Medicine.....	100	50	47·26	2·74
Surgery .....	78	50	48·51	1·49
Midwifery .....	74	50	43·89	6·09
Botany.....	58	38	34·81	3·18
Materia Medica .....	90	38	35·62	2·37
Chemistry .....	87	52	48·39	3·60
Medical Jurisprudence ; } Toxicology .....	46	41	37·65	3·34
Ophthalmic; Medicine and } Surgery .....	24	51	45·83	5·16

The new hospital is calculated to hold 300 in-door patients, and has a library of 4,126 volumes.

The following table shows the number of patients treated in 1853 :—

	Remaining last Year.	Admitted.	Total in 1853.	Cured.	Relieved.	Dead.	Remained in 1854.
In-door patients	92	2,542	2,634	2,295	..	241	98
Out-door patients	105	13,606	13,711	12,917	687	..	107
Minor surgical operations }	..	2,057	2,057	2,057	..	..	..
<b>Total ....</b>	<b>197</b>	<b>18,205</b>	<b>18,402</b>	<b>27,269</b>	<b>687</b>	<b>241</b>	<b>205</b>

When we consider in how very imperfect a condition the medical and surgical arts are in India,—the former confined to those unacquainted with the anatomy of the human frame, and the latter to the barber-surgeons, equally ignorant,—it is impossible to appreciate too highly the benefits which must, in a few years, accrue from the greater extension of medical knowledge. A commencement has been made; and it is by no means impracticable to establish colleges on a similar plan, but on a smaller scale, in every territorial division of our Indian Empire.

I am indebted to a medical friend of eminence, holding a high office in one of the

London colleges, for the following opinion on reading the report. He observes :—

“The regulations under which medicine is studied, are not detailed. So far as can be collected, it appears that more than four years' attendance is required on subjects much the same as are taught in English schools.

“The same difficulties seem to be experienced in getting the work practically done as in England. This appears from occasional complaints in the report. But the knowledge of the subjects taught is, from time to time, tested ; and the final examination is, to a great extent, a practical one.

“This is far better than the system pursued in the College of Surgeons and the Apothecaries' Society here, which is simply oral : and that for a very short time, and occurring but once, at the end of the period of study, which is only a year and a half.”

In the North-western Presidency of Agra, Mr. Thomason established free hospitals at the principal towns in his district, wherein Native educated practitioners were employed. The last return of this charitable institution, in 1855-6, shows the following result :—

Out-door Patients.	Cured.	* Relieved.	Dead.
261,560	165,367	94,618	1,575

The impetus has been given ; and the beneficial results once promulgated, there can be little doubt that these institutions will spread ; that in the course of time highly-skilled Native practitioners will arise, and their private practice will be of such value that hundreds will prefer it to remaining in the lowest grade of the medical profession in the army, without prospect of promotion.

While writing on this subject, I have obtained the following interesting information from the East-India House :—

#### DISPENSARIES.

Government Civil Dispensaries have been established in many of the large towns of India, where the inhabitants have been found willing to contribute towards the expense. At this time the general rule appears to be, that the Government should provide medicines and instruments, pay the salaries of the superintending sub-assistant surgeon and Native doctor ; the cost of the rest of the establishment, as well as of the building, being defrayed by private subscription.

TABLE showing the Number of Dispensaries in the North-west Provinces ; together with the Expenditure on account of the same, in the year 1851-52, whether derived from the Government or from Private Subscriptions ; also the Number of Patients treated within the year.

	Number of Dispensaries.	Number of Patients treated.	EXPENDITURE.		
			Public.	Private.	Total.
Delhi .. . . .	1	11,253	3,043	..	3,043
Agra .. . . .	10	5,974	3,404	..	3,404
Moradabad .. . .	2	7,605	2,966	..	2,966
Bareilly .. . . .	4	22,009	3,295	..	3,295
Benares .. . . .	16	30,360	4,088	286	4,374
Allahabad .. . .	13	6,348	3,280	..	3,280
Cawnpore .. . .	12	5,330	3,057	..	3,057
Jubbulpore .. . .	18	6,526	1,842	650	2,492
Furruckabad .. . .	11	4,747	2,836	..	2,836
Mutra .. . . .	9	7,287	3,405	..	3,405
Shahjehanpore ..	8	3,555	2,138	110	2,248
Pillibheet (Branch)	5	7,823	591	..	591
Baharee (do.) ..	6	4,592	564	..	564
Budaon .. . . .	3	3,895	1,102	305	1,407
Ghazepore .. . .	17	4,231	2,290	..	2,290
Beesulpore (Branch)	7	4,510	Maintained by interest, at 12 per cent. per annum, on Rs. 5,200, subscribed by "inhabitants."		
Mirzapore .. . .	15	7,707	2,399	573	2,972
Goruckpore .. . .	14	2,014	666	..	666
Total .. . . .	171	145,766	40,966	1,924	42,890

N.B.—There were also, in 1851, eighteen dispensaries in other parts of the North-west Provinces, the particulars of which have not been received for that year.

The following shows the Number of Patients treated in, and the total Expenditure on account of, the Madras Dispensaries, in 1853 :—

DISPENSARIES.	Number of Patients treated.	Expenditure.
		Rupees.
Triplcane .. .. .. .. ..	9,767	3,018
Black Town .. .. .. .. ..	11,460	679
Chintadrepettah .. .. .. .. ..	13,700	1,116
Vepery .. .. .. .. ..	8,207	3,383
Dispensary attached to Government ]		
Lying-in Hospital .. .. .. .. .. } 2,925		..
Nellore .. .. .. .. ..	2,979	2,087
Guntoor .. .. .. .. ..	3,805	1,096
Chingleput .. .. .. .. ..	7,141	1,104
Chittoor .. .. .. .. ..	6,561	1,260
Cuddalore .. .. .. .. ..	4,743	1,098
Trichinopoly .. .. .. .. ..	3,428	1,837
Madura .. .. .. .. ..	5,548	1,742
Combacconum .. .. .. .. ..	3,474	1,371
Salem .. .. .. .. ..	2,349	1,300
Tinnevelly .. .. .. .. ..	3,873	1,496
Coimbatore .. .. .. .. ..	3,426	1,156
Cochin .. .. .. .. ..	2,097	1,554
Ootacamund .. .. .. .. ..	1,575	182
Bellary .. .. .. .. ..	1,949	1,628
Cuddapah .. .. .. .. ..	2,239	1,417
Kurnool .. .. .. .. ..	7,212	5,626
Masulipatam .. .. .. .. ..	5,411	1,857
Vizagapatam .. .. .. .. ..	4,484	1,798
Chicacole .. .. .. .. ..	3,013	1,934
Rajahmundry .. .. .. .. ..	717	1,967
Calicut .. .. .. .. ..	3,287	1,610
Mangalore .. .. .. .. ..	4,271	1,530
Tellicherry .. .. .. .. ..	2,610	..
Kamptee .. .. .. .. ..	2,502	1,457
Secunderabad .. .. .. .. ..	1,950	2,399
Total .. .. .. .. ..	136,703	48,702

The information of the Bengal Dispensaries is for six months only, viz., from 1st October, 1852, to 31st March, 1853 :—

DISPENSARIES.	Number of Patients treated.	Expenditure. Rupees.
Sukeah's Lane .. . . . .	2,446	2,831
Bhowanipore .. . . . .	4,170	1,568
Allipore .. . . . .	..	1,152
Ooterparah .. . . . .	1,640	124
Satghurria .. . . . .	..	177
Hooghly .. . . . .	4,493	261
Mulnauth .. . . . .	1,785	48
Midnapore .. . . . .	1,661	124
Moorshedabad .. . . . .	3,282	1,244
Pooree .. . . . .	..	1,689
Dacca .. . . . .	2,491	1,624
Chittagong .. . . . .	1,445	1,064
Purneah .. . . . .	514	48
Gya .. . . . .	1,883	90
Patna .. . . . .	4,401	2,118
Total .. . . . .	..	14,162

The Charitable Hospital at Rangoon has been placed on the same footing as Government Dispensaries in the large towns in India.

The particulars of the Punjab Dispensaries is for the same period, viz., for six months, from 1st October, 1852, to 31st March, 1853 :—

DISPENSARIES.	Number of Patients treated.	Expenditure.
		Rupees.
Umballa .. .. .. .. .. ..	..	385
Sinla .. .. .. .. .. ..	1,617	2,026
Ferozepore .. .. .. .. .. ..	..	1,158
Lahore .. .. .. .. .. ..	2,113	1,751
Jullunder .. .. .. .. .. ..	1,527	191
Mooltan .. .. .. .. .. ..	151	522
Hosseapore .. .. .. .. .. ..	69	53
Umritsur .. .. .. .. .. ..	2,508	1,601
Dera Ismael Khan .. .. .. .. ..	811	564
Pind Dadur Khan .. .. .. .. ..	..	364
Peshawur .. .. .. .. .. ..	1,184	624
Total .. .. .. .. .. ..	..	9,239

At Bombay, the institution of Government Dispensaries appears to be of recent date. In 1853 the Court approved of the establishment of these institutions in the large provincial towns, where the inhabitants might be disposed to subscribe in aid of their maintenance ; but at the same time observed that contributions could scarcely be expected till the people should have the opportunity of witnessing, to some extent, the effects of European medical treatment.

The only institutions respecting which any Reports have been published, are the following :—

DISPENSARIES.	PERIODS.	Number *treated.
Poonah     ...    ...    ...    {	24th February, 1853, to 31st March, 1854.	} 2,699
Bandora     ...    ...    ...    {	1st October, 1853, to 31st March, 1854.	} 1,006

## CHAPTER VII.

## PART I.—CIVIL SERVANTS : COVENANTED.

THE civil business of the Government of India has hitherto been conducted by a class of gentlemen educated specially for the purpose, and appointed in England under the denomination of Covenanted Servants, inasmuch as they enter into covenants the same as existed on the first formation of the United East-India Company of Merchants, a century and a half ago. The nature of the education they receive, in addition to that usually acquired at the best schools, consists in the study of the general principles of law, history, political economy, and such of the Oriental languages as are likely to be useful to them in the particular part of the country to which they are destined to proceed. After their arrival in India they are required to pass in two of the vernacular languages before they are eligible to employment. Besides the clas-

sical languages, such as Sanscrit, Arabic, and Persian (which are nowhere spoken), there are no fewer than fifteen vernacular dialects enumerated in the Statistical Report of the East-India House, pp. 53, 54.

The civilian's career in India, after passing his examination, is thus described: he first enters as junior-assistant to a collector and magistrate, where he is engaged at once in the revenue and judicial line. In the former he becomes acquainted with all the intricacies of Indian revenue, and in the latter he takes the depositions of witnesses, and prepares cases for the decision of his superior. When favourably reported on, he exercises magisterial functions, to the extent of punishing with imprisonment and labour for two months. Having passed this apprenticeship for some years, he becomes a candidate for promotion, when he is subjected to a second and more severe examination, with the view of testing his knowledge of the languages and the laws of the country. "That this examination is severe," says the author of the Statistical Report, "may be fairly inferred from the fact of only seven civilians in Calcutta, in 1852,

having passed, out of twenty who went up for examination." A successful candidate may then be appointed a collector and magistrate. In the latter capacity he directs the police, and takes cognizance of all criminal matters, and can punish to the extent of three years' confinement. Parties charged with graver crimes are committed by him to take their trial before the Court of Sessions. Appeals lie from the magistrates' awards to the sessions judge. From the office of collector and magistrate the civilian is raised to the County Court, and eventually to the Session Court; and lastly to the High Court of Appeal at the Presidency.

Where there is such extensive authority and such heavy responsibility, it has been thought necessary to give high salaries, as compared with those of civil functionaries performing the same duties at home; but not more so, in proportion, than the military pay in India is to that of England.

"In the trial of civil suits, original or appeal, it is competent to the civil judge to avail himself of the assistance of Natives, in one of the three following modes :—

" 1. By a Penchayet (or arbitration of five), who conduct their inquiries on points submitted to them, apart from the Court ; and make their report to the judge ;

" 2. By Assessors, who sit with the judge, make observations, examine witnesses, and offer opinions and suggestions ;

" 3. By a Jury, who attend during the trial, and after consultation deliver their verdict.

" But under all the modes of procedure described in the three cases, the decision is vested solely in the judge."\*

Independent of those civilians in the revenue and judicial departments, there are other departments, no less important, in which their services are made available : these are the secretariat and the diplomatic. In the time of the Marquis Wellesley, more than half a century since, he selected for the latter department, several of the most promising young men of the day, who had distinguished themselves in college by a knowledge of the languages. It was their duty to copy all secret despatches sent, and to read and abstract on the back all those received in the office. All of them, I believe, without exception, became *attachés* to the Residents of Native courts,

\* Statistical Report, East-India House, p. 48.

and themselves rose to the highest diplomatic situations.

The advantages enjoyed by the civil servants on retiring from office are: first, those accruing to themselves; and, secondly, those devolving on their widows and children after their demise.

Every civilian is required to subscribe four per cent. of his salary, from the date of his arrival in India till he has served twenty-five years, of which twenty-two must have been spent in actual service in India; for which amount, not exceeding five thousand pounds sterling, he is entitled to an annuity at the rate of ten per cent. In addition to which he may retire on an annuity of £500 per annum. Provided also that the fund shall not be required to grant more than ten such annuities annually.

Independently of the Civil Annuity Fund, is another fund, denominated the Civil Fund, for the provision of annuities to widows and children of the subscribers, under certain conditions to be found in the "East-India Annual Register." To widows, an annuity of £300; and to children, according to their age, from

£30 a year to £100 a year, after attaining the age of twelve, till of age. In the case of daughters, a donation of £300 is granted on marriage.

By the recent Act of 1854, Haileybury College, devoted to the special education required by a civilian in India, is to be abolished, and the civil service is now thrown open to all who can produce certain certificates as to character and conduct, and can pass an examination which is deemed essential to the nomination. Time alone will prove how far this method of providing qualified persons for the duties now performed by the civilians expressly educated for the purpose, will be found superior to the system hitherto adopted.

There were advantages in that system which ought not to be overlooked, to which India is deeply indebted, and which have produced men of whom any nation might well be proud.

**PART II.—CIVIL SERVANTS : UNCOVENANTED.**

BEFORE treating of another branch of the Civil Service, which is appointed in India, and which is denominated the Uncovenanted Service, it seems necessary to say a few words on the territorial and magisterial divisions into which the country is separated. An indefinite number of towns or villages, as in Europe, constitute a pergana or county; one or more of these constitute a district; several districts form a zillah or division. To each division, comprising from 600,000 to 1,000,000 of inhabitants in populous parts, are two covenanted European civil servants, one as judge, the other as collector of revenue and magistrate, with one or more assistants; and if the zillah or collectorate be large, there is an assistant judge, and deputy collector and magistrate. Differences, however, exist in various parts. Some are governed by specific laws, and these are denominated "Regulation Districts;" others, in which these laws are not deemed

applicable, are called "Non-regulation Districts." It is in these latter divisions that it has been thought expedient to introduce more extensively the employment of the Natives in the higher and more responsible offices. For this change there were strong reasons. In the first place, it was found that the public business could not be got through without a larger increase of the European Civil Service than the resources of the State could afford to pay; and it was deemed altogether unadvisable to reduce the salaries of those holding offices of great responsibility and trust, to a standard which might not insure the services of men of a class fit to be so employed. Secondly, it was discovered that there were numerous well-educated Natives out of employ, who might relieve the Civil Service from part of the business with which they were overwhelmed: and who, if adequately remunerated, would fulfil the duties required of them with superior advantages, by a knowledge of the language, habits, and institutions of their countrymen, beyond those of the Europeans themselves. Another and a higher motive than efficiency entered into the project, viz., the policy and justice of

opening to the inhabitants of the country a fair field for employment, and affording to them a share of the benefits arising from their social position in the State. The experiment was introduced in 1830, and has been greatly extended, and found eminently successful: so much so that it was the opinion of the civilians examined before the Committees of Parliament, in 1853, both of the India House and from India, that the Natives were competent, from their acquirements, to fill the highest stations; and that their present remuneration was wholly inadequate to the responsibility and trust imposed on them. The principal offices now filled by Natives, independently of the law offices of the courts, which are of old standing, are divided into Revenue and Judicial.

In the former branch are deputy-collectors, fulfilling the same duties as the European. The latter perform judicial functions, and are divided into three classes, denominated :—

Sadr Amin.

Amin.

Munsif.

The deputy-collectors receive from £360 to £600 per annum.

The sadr amins receive from £600 to £720 per annum.

The amins, from £360 to £400 per annum.

The munsifs, from £100 to £200 per annum.

These salaries vary in different Provinces, and are higher in those where the European covenanted servants are fewer.

The juniors in the department receive less, and the lower clerks of all as little as £24 per annum.

The present strength of the uncovenanted, but registered, civil servants, independently of the former local officers of revenue and justice, and pleaders in the courts of the regulation districts, is as follows :—

In Bengal	...	...	...	...	...	420
In the North-west Provinces	...	...	...	...	...	864
In the Punjab	...	...	...	...	...	258
In Madras	...	...	...	...	...	199
In Bombay	...	...	...	...	...	594
<hr/>						
TOTAL	...	...	...	...	...	2,335

It was stated in evidence before the House of Commons, that in 1850 in Bengal alone 220 munsifs, or small cause judges, decided 80,000 causes of an average value of 61 Rs. (£6. 2s.), besides 50,000 other causes of small debts.

Civil justice is now almost entirely dispensed by Native judges. These are divided into three courts. The higher court may decide causes to any amount. The two inferior courts try causes the amount of which does not exceed £50. Appeals lie from these courts to a superior Native court, and from that to the highest European court.

The number of civil suits disposed of in the North-west Provinces, having a population of upwards of thirty millions, has not in any year (between 1843 and 1849) exceeded 43,169. The number of appeals in seven years amount to about 15 per cent., and the proportion of decisions reversed, both in the European and civil courts, is little more than 4 per cent.\*

The Honourable Mr. Halliday, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, stated in evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons :—

“These courts are the very foundation of our judicial system ; and the duties of the European judge are now, for the most part, superintendence and appeal—almost all causes being decided by the Native judges.”

\* *Vide Statistical Report, East-India House, p. 45.*

Again :—

“ In the Non-regulation Provinces, the Native laws seem to prevail, but they are supervised by Europeans ; and the system is cheap and satisfactory.

“ Juries are made use of in criminal, but not in civil cases.”

It is not stated to what extent the criminal jurisdiction extends, but Mr. Halliday states there is no difference in the duties of the Native judge on £720 a year, and the European judge on £3,600.

“ The selection for the office of Native judge is regulated as follows : Native barristers or pleaders, before obtaining diplomas, must have passed an examination before a committee, consisting of the European Revenue Commissioner, the European Judge of the District, the principal Native Judge of a County Court, the Principal of the College or other educational establishment, and such other officers as may be appointed by Government.”

The examination may be presumed to be of stringent character, from the following results, in 1852 :—

At Agra twenty-seven candidates presented themselves for examination ; *none* passed.

At Bareilly, forty-eight candidates ; two passed.

At Benares, seventy-two candidates ; four passed.

The lowest grade of Native judges are

selected from the Native barristers, and are appointed by the highest European court.

The second grade are selected out of the junior grade, and are appointed by the same court.

The highest grade are selected out of the second, and are appointed by the Governor.

The uncovenanted service is one of gradation, but not of seniority.

The mode of keeping the criminal judicial returns varies so much at the different Presidencies, according to the statistics of the colonies lately published for Parliamentary use, that without some further light than is at present thrown upon the subject, it is impossible to arrive at a correct conclusion as to a comparison of the amount of crime perpetrated in India and in Europe. The amount of convictions, however, show, that while in England the proportion exhibits one conviction to about 781 of the population, that of India does not exceed one in  $812\frac{1}{2}$ ; but there is great reason to suspect that from the very inefficient state of the police in Bengal, and the great disproportion between the recorded crimes of those

Provinces, compared with the returns from other parts of India, a very large portion of criminals escape without being detected or brought to justice.

While on the subject of criminal jurisdiction, I may here advert to the horrid practice of Thuggee (*alias* garotting), accompanied by murders, which the British Government has, it is hoped, effectually suppressed. The mode of destroying passengers, whom these bands were suffered to accompany, has become as familiar to the English reader as household words; but I have always been of opinion, and still am, that these gangs were no part of the Hindu system, but that circumstances of mis-government, corruption, and neglect of the public welfare gave rise to the practice, and that it is of comparatively recent date. The perpetrators, like professional thieves elsewhere, had a peculiar slang jargon and signs, known only to themselves. They were dispersed over districts in different towns and villages, and professed to carry on trade, but they belonged to no separate sect of the community. They consisted of Hindus of all sects, of Mahomedans of different persuasions, and

when they professed to be under the tutelage of the goddess of blood, they made this pretext a bond of union, rather than with any faith in her power to aid them. There were in the towns they ventured to inhabit receivers of their stolen goods; and it is believed that some of the petty princes of the country and heads of villages connived at their proceedings, shared in their booty, and tolerated their existence. The reviewer, in the December number of *Blackwood*, to which allusion has before been made, observes:—

“Another crime peculiar to India, though less so than thuggee, was dacoity, or systematic gang-robbery. The externals of this crime early forced themselves upon the notice of our Indian administrators, but it was not till lately discovered that dacoity was the normal condition of whole tribes, born and bred in the profession,—that there were robber castes just as there were soldier castes or writer castes, and that men went out to prey upon the property of their fellows, and, if need be, on their lives, with strict religious observance of sacrament and sacrifice.”

This requires explanation and modification. I have elsewhere noticed the peculiarity of the village police, confided entirely to the aboriginal race, at once the most despised of all

other tribes, and yet the most faithful to the trusts they undertake.

In Southern India they are, for the most part, serfs of the soil, as well as watchmen, curriers, and scavengers. In other parts they seldom cultivate the land, and are everywhere too poor to till it on their own account. It has been already stated (pp. 49, 50) that they are the bravest and most trustworthy soldiers, to which fact all European officers who have commanded them bear testimony; but, out of service, they partake of the furtive habits of the whole race, and become the terror of society.

It has been shown, that when the permanent contract for realizing the land revenue of Bengal took place in 1793, no provision was made for the hereditary village police. Indeed, the whole structure of the municipal institutions was shaken, and, as the contractors, or zemindars, were deprived of the magisterial functions they formerly exercised, the village police were no longer employed, and lost their natural provision from the land and their share of the crops. In this state they betook themselves to gang-robbery, termed Dacoity,

in which many dispossessed landholders also joined.

The ignorance of the village institutions, which were unknown to Europeans in 1793, was not likely to be removed by the contract system of the permanent settlement; but the state of the general police of the country forced itself on the notice of Government, which has adopted such measures as occurred to it, till at length in Lower Bengal an army of policemen, of all tribes and castes (but not of those best acquainted with the country, and who are literally born to the duty), has in vain attempted to afford security to the people. The unsettled state of the North-western Provinces, till the late settlement, and the several different views of the European officials of rights in the land, gave rise to similar outrages of dacoity in that and other parts of India; but since those rights have been satisfactorily settled, the village police have had theirs recognized by the people, and dacoity has ceased. Not so in Bengal. . The reviewer in *Blackwood* ascribes this system to the poverty of the peasantry; but it is not the peasantry who become dacoits. They are perhaps either too poor, or

are suffered to withhold that portion of the crops by which the ancient police was mainly supported. It is more than probable that the same cause has operated in the Madras Provinces, where the village police has never been disturbed; but the low condition of the inhabitants, and the neglect of the municipal system, as it once existed, are likely causes to have affected the efficiency of the police in that quarter.

In no part of India was dacoity carried to such an audacious extent as in the Province of Candeish, when it was first reduced, and became part of the British territories, in 1818. The poverty of the cultivators, and the abandonment of whole villages, left the Bheel police without support. They betook themselves to the hills, and levied black-mail, or came down in gangs and plundered the districts which ought to have supported them. They had carried on this state of warfare for nineteen or twenty years, during which time they found it convenient to elect chiefs, and to settle apart in separate communities. The Native Government was unable to protect the inhabitants, and the Zemindars, or heads of

districts, entered into written compromises with the Naigs, or leaders, which were often not fulfilled; while the frequent instances of treachery practised upon them by the contractors of the revenue, who promised them protection when they invited them to conferences, and then seized and put them to death, excited their suspicion, and animated them to revenge. In 1818 the number of the chiefs amounted to about fifty, and their followers were estimated at five thousand. In their fastnesses they were intangible; their forests gave them shelter and means of defence, though they only used principally bows and arrows as missiles; while their elevated position in the hills gave them full opportunity of watching and evading the approach of their enemies. Candeish, with its 1,900 towns and villages, was literally without any police. Measures were then adopted to reclaim the robber-bands. Their chiefs, under guarantee of the district zemindars and heads of villages, were invited to conferences with the European Commissioner for the new Government. Written terms were offered and accepted, by which the chiefs had the option of

remaining in the hills, with a few blood-relations, on condition of their sending back their followers to their respective villages. Pecuniary pensions were granted, to be paid monthly to the chiefs when their followers returned ; and the first instalment, together with some conciliatory presents, was made to them. Proclamations were issued to the village magistrates, to restore to their ancient watchmen and their descendants their wonted portions of grain and land, and to receive them favourably. These measures succeeded admirably. In less than a year Candeish could boast of the best police in India, whose duty, among others, it was to convey the post from one station to another, and to bring the revenue, in hard cash, from their villages to the principal stations of the Province. Not a letter was ever lost or delayed, nor a rupee abstracted. Some of the hill-chiefs broke faith, but, strange to say, if a summons to appear before the magistrate was not attended to, a proclamation of outlawry, and a reward for the capture of the accused, seldom failed, in a short time, to bring the refractory chief to take his trial.

In spite of these successful measures, for the first four or five years some of the Hill Bheels continued to collect gangs, and occasionally to intercept travellers. It was then thought advisable to raise a regular Bheel police corps, the establishment of which, under the command of Sir James Outram—then a subaltern, but now the distinguished chief of the Persian expedition—gave additional security to the country.

A regularly-armed police, composed of this race, and under the command of intelligent European officers well acquainted with their habits, has, in this case as well as in others, proved of the highest benefit; but it seems very doubtful that police corps made up of Hindus and Mahomedans would be of any other use than to form treasure-escorts and guard prisoners. In point of intelligence to cope with the practised robbers,—the off-sets of the village police—they could, I conceive, be of no further avail than they have shown themselves in Lower Bengal.

It is understood that orders have lately gone to India to try all criminal cases by a jury consisting of any number not exceeding

five. It is surprising to think how long this measure has been deferred, and how opposed the covenanted civil servants of the regulation were to its adoption, owing, as was stated, to their want of confidence both in the intelligence and the integrity of jurymen. The measure was first introduced into Ceylon in 1811 by the late Sir Alexander Johnstone. It was subsequently adopted in Candieish in 1818-19, and was practised occasionally in the principality of Sattara when under the management of a European Resident Commissioner. It proved very satisfactory in all three cases, and consequently the Honourable Mount-Stuart Elphinstone, when Governor of Bombay, called on all the judges under his government in 1825 for their opinions as to the desirability of employing juries in criminal trials. The answers of seven judges out of nine in the regulation provinces were decidedly against it, and only two were in favour; while of the four in the non-regulation Provinces the whole were in favour.

The mode in which criminals were tried in the Deccan, under the administration of Mr. Elphinstone, when sole Commissioner for the

Government of the newly-conquered districts, is thus described in his report, dated 29th October, 1819 :—

“ According to our practice a prisoner is formally and publicly brought to trial. He is asked whether he is guilty. If he admits it, pains are taken to ascertain that his confession is voluntary. If he denies it, witnesses are called without further inquiry. They are examined in the presence of the prisoner, who is allowed to cross-examine and to call witnesses in his own defence. If there is any doubt when the trial is concluded, he is acquitted. If he is clearly guilty, the Shastery (Hindu law expounder) is called on to declare the Hindu law.

“ It often happens that this law is unreasonable, and, when the error is on the side of severity, it is modified ; when on the side of lenity, it is acquiesced in.

“ When the trial is concluded and the sentence passed, in cases of magnitude it is reported for the information of the Commissioner, where the same leaning to the side of lenity is shown as in the court.”

Sir Thomas Munro, when Governor of Madras, took steps for introducing the trial by jury into the Madras Provinces, before his death in 1828, but his successor was opposed to the measure. It seems strange that this project should have always met with such opposition from Englishmen, but more especially so since courts-martial, composed entirely of Natives, have prevailed for the trial of

Native soldiers and camp followers, under the supervision of a Judge-advocate or his representative, for more than a century, not only without inconvenience, but to the maintenance of discipline, and to the satisfaction of all classes.

Now that the Government has opened its eyes to the expediency, not to say the necessity, of employing the Natives extensively in the public business, it is hoped that the narrow spirit of exclusiveness which for a hundred years has separated the European civil servants from free and confidential intercourse with the Natives, will gradually wear away, and that they will henceforward be treated with the indulgence and courtesy due to their position in society as our fellow-subjects, not as personal servants and dependents. \*

I presume there are retiring pensions for this description of Native officers; but it would bind them more firmly to the Government if their pensions were regulated as those of the covenanted service, by monthly contributions of the upper grades, and forfeiture of all advantages incidental to dismissal from the service. The Government, having at length con-

fided in their Native civil servants, as they have always done in their army, have laid a foundation of strength that it is their own fault if they do not improve upon.

We have no right, however, to suppose, that in an educated class of society, such as is extending throughout India, they will be satisfied with the small remuneration they now receive for the performance of duties which meet with so much higher emolument in the case of Europeans. Increased salaries and pensions should be regulated by length of service in each grade, so that, as long as a man can be of use, he may have a motive to continue in employ. When he has served his full time, it is fit he should retire.

The necessity of holding out prospective remuneration to the uncovenanted servants becomes imperative when we consider the habits of the race. If a general spirit of dissatisfaction happened to pervade any particular class, or the whole body of the uncovenanted servants of a district, they would probably combine and strike work. To this peaceful mode of revolt they are accustomed under their own Government, and instances frequently

occur in individual villages, and, as was the case of Mysore, of the whole body of the inhabitants quitting their habitations and deserting their lands.

Before closing these observations on the uncovenanted service, it seems right to combat an erroneous doctrine which is gaining ground, that the value of a rupee, or two shillings, to a Native in India is equal to seven times that amount in England. The error is grounded on the difference in the rate of wages between unskilled labour in England and India; but there are many circumstances which intervene to render this comparison false when applied to other classes of society. A fairer criterion would be, to take into consideration the price of grain; and next, the habits of the people especially due to the influence of climate.

When the price of rice—the ordinary food of the Madras sepoy—exceeds a half-penny per pound, the difference is made up in money. Two pounds of rice and one pennyworth of condiments per diem, suffice to feed a Native soldier in India: the day-labourer cannot live upon less. Two pounds of bread at 4d., and half as much more in cheese, butter, or

bacon, would supply the same modicum of food to the day-labourer in England, where he lives better than in any other part of Europe. The mere article of food, then, may cost treble what it does in India,—to say nothing of luxuries, now become almost necessities of life; but has the labourer in England no other necessities to be supplied than are requisite for the Indian labourer? The climate of the former demands that he should be well sheltered from the cold and wet all the year round, that he should be warmly clad, that he should be furnished with fuel, and that he should have the means for supplying his wife and helpless children with all these necessities. Now, how stands the case with the Indian labourer? The shelter adequate to his wants may be constructed by himself, from the abundance of grass and wood obtainable almost without cost, by asking permission, if necessary, to take it from the waste. The climate does not require him to be clothed, at any time of the year, beyond a coarse blanket, to be bought for two or three shillings; he has no necessity for fuel to keep out the cold, and what is requisite for culinary purposes

may be said to be always at hand. The Indian labourer's wife and children require no further care than himself; and, from habit, they are his helpmates. They prepare his food, and are busily employed in cutting grass and gathering firewood, to supply the neighbouring towns with fodder for the cattle and fuel for the inhabitants, who are more profitably employed,—and thus feed themselves. But the case is very different as we ascend in the scale of society. The Native who receives two pounds a month, as a clerk, is certainly not better off than the clerk who in England receives twice as much; and if we admit that the educated Native public servant in India is entitled to half, or even one-third, of that paid to the European civil servant for the performance of the same duty, we shall not over-rate the emolument due to his services.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### PART I.—THE GOVERNMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD.

LET us now examine the administration, at home and abroad, of the dominions of the Queen in India ; whose forces having subdued empires and kings, Her Majesty still holds more than two hundred potentates, great and small,—exercising sway over millions of subjects,—in subordinate alliance to her.

First of all let us take a rapid view of the progressive steps by which this government has passed from the hands of merchant-princes into that of the Crown. While the East-India Company confined itself to mere commercial transactions, it was too unimportant to arrest the attention of the Imperial Government, but when it became possessed of territory which it held by Act of Parliament, with sovereign power, the nation began to regard its progress with a watchful eye. The military

achievements of Clive obtained for him a peerage, but he was afterwards arraigned by his masters, on the plea of having amassed enormous wealth, though he gave them a kingdom.

The rapid steps made by the armies of the combined forces of the Crown and the Company, begat increased jealousy ; and the King's Government assumed the privilege of appointing commissioners as members of the councils abroad, to watch the proceedings of the Company's Governors. This step, as might have been anticipated, tended rather to embarrass than to improve the state of things, and gave rise to opposition, which hampered the wheels of government. At length the delinquencies imputed to Warren Hastings, who saved the empire of which Clive laid the foundation, caused his impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanours, and he was tried before the House of Lords.

The representations of the Government Commissioners (Sir Philip Francis and General Clavering) against Hastings were enough, even before his arrival from India, to convince the Imperial Government that the control of

the Crown was insufficient over the political and territorial powers exercised by the Company. In the year 1782 Mr. Fox brought in a bill to limit those powers to their commercial concerns, and to place the territory, with all the military and political establishments of the Company, under the Minister of the Crown. This bill, though carried through the House of Commons, was thrown out in the House of Lords. Two years afterwards Mr. Pitt brought in and carried another bill, leaving the Company in full possession of its actual functions, subject, however, to the control of a Board consisting of a President elect and five other Cabinet Ministers, together with a Secretary and an establishment correspondent with that in Leadenhall Street for all purposes unconnected with the trade of the Company. Every dispatch from the India House was required henceforward to be submitted to the Board of Control for approval, and all matters relating to peace and war to pass through a secret committee of the Court of Directors, the business of which was not open to that body: the committee to consist of the chairman and deputy-chairman, and the senior member of

the Court. The duty of this committee was to act in subordinate co-operation with the President of the Board of Control, and to forward in their own names the result of the measures approved of by him as representing the Ministers of the Crown.

The trial of Warren Hastings lasted seven years, and terminated in his full and honourable acquittal. The effect of this procedure was to afford an amount of knowledge of which the Houses of Parliament had before no conception. From the time of the passing of Mr. Pitt's Bill the Ministers no longer deemed it necessary to appoint Commissioners to the Indian councils, but boldly took upon themselves to select the future Governors and Governors-General in communication with the Court of Directors, who received the names of the choice of Ministers, as in the case of the episcopacy, by a *congé d'élire* from the throne. In order to support, however, the authority of the Company, from whom they received their orders, the Governors elect were required to take the oaths of allegiance to that body before they received their commissions, a form which has continued to the present time. It is true

that instances have occurred in which the Court of Directors have stated objections to such selection, which have been deemed valid by the President of the Board of Control, for the intercourse between these bodies has always been maintained with so much courtesy and consideration that they have seldom been brought in direct collision with each other. The law has granted to the Court of Directors as well as to the Crown, equal privileges of recalling from India any public servant of the Company, the Governors not excepted.

The Court of Directors would lead people to believe that the Governors-General are of their own choice; but it is notorious that in the Presidentship of Mr. Canning in the Board of Control, when he consented to nominate a servant of the Company as Governor of Bombay, he submitted to the Court three names, out of which to choose one, and on the next vacancy the two rejected were sent up again by the President. It has been lately stated in Parliament by a Minister of the Crown, that the Governors-General are English statesmen sent out by the Home authorities, and operating to a great extent inde-

pendent of the Board of Directors, so that, in reality, the East-India Directors are in no wise responsible for the local administration of India, excepting as assenting to the measures adopted in that quarter.

While the Company retained their charter of exclusive trade, six out of the twenty-four Directors went out in rotation annually, and were ineligible to re-election for twelve months, in order to afford an opportunity to the proprietors of East-India Stock to send, if they chose, fresh members into the Direction. This object, however, was effectually defeated by the vast amount of influence derived from the directorial patronage, evinced by the constant re-election of the same individuals who went out of office the preceding year. As long as the commercial and territorial accounts were blended together, the treasury remained wholly at the disposal of the Company, and the interference of the Board of Control, except in politics, was rarely exercised. In the year 1813 the exclusive monopoly of the trade with India was withdrawn; and in the year 1834 that of China was also abolished, and THE MERCANTILE COMPANY TRADING TO THE EAST-INDIES WAS

PROHIBITED BY LAW FROM TRADING AT ALL WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE COMPANY'S CHARTER, extending north and south over the seas and ports embraced between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn. From and after April, 1834, the territory acquired by the Company was transferred to the Crown, with all its liabilities of debt, with a guarantee to pay to the proprietors of East-India Stock £600,000 per annum out of the territorial revenue till the year 1874, when it is redeemable out of a fund set aside for the purpose by payment of £200 for every £100 stock. The legislature, however, thought it expedient, for the ensuing twenty years, to pass an Act, conferring on the Court of Directors for the time being (to be elected as heretofore), authority to exercise its functions as a governing body, in the name of the East-India Company.

Viewed abstractedly, it is impossible to imagine any scheme apparently more anomalous than that just described. Here we have a *commercial* corporation, precluded by law from *trading*, required to elect from amongst them a Board of administration for part of her Majesty's dominions, virtually chosen for life,—

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a Board in whose election the Crown had no voice, nor legal power to displace any member, a Board issuing orders in the name of a trading company, whose commercial charter is suspended; and yet, with all this apparent independence, we find this Board of government controlled in its movements by a Minister of the Crown, regulating even its financial affairs. Anomalous though it be, yet practically, excepting in the circumstance of the election of its members, it differs little from the administration of other departments of the State.

The President of the Board of Control is virtually the Secretary of State for India; that Board of which he is the head, exists only in name. The real Board for the government of India is the Court of Directors, receiving instructions from the President. In like manner we have the Minister of War directing, but not interfering in the duties of the Commander-in-Chief, the Ordnance, the Commissariat, and the Medical departments, each of which has its separate and independent functionaries.

The First Lord of the Admiralty is aided by the naval lords, who necessarily superintend

the several branches of the navy with which the first lord is supposed to be ignorant.

It was quite open for Her Majesty's Government in 1834 to have assumed the direct management of the Indian administration, but Parliament judged it wiser to make this experiment for twenty years, and then to decide how far it had succeeded. In the year 1854 it was conceived that the proprietors of East-India stock had not fulfilled the object for which their power of electing Directors had been continued to them; still it was considered advisable to rule India through the agency of a body of men who, from their experience and known characters, were best suited to the task. The Act of 1854 reduced the number of Directors from twenty-four (or rather thirty, including the house list of six Directors, annually re-elected) to eighteen; of whom at least two-thirds are required to have served in India ten years or more in the Company's employ; one-third, or six of the Directors, to be nominated by the Crown, and two-thirds as heretofore by the Proprietors. The Directors are to be elected in future for six years instead of four, and to be eligible for immediate re-election. Such form of

government not to be continued for any definite period, but to be liable to change whenever the Legislature may see fit. This is what constitutes the double government of India; but when viewed as a whole, it is no more a double government than that of several departments of the State, nor (to make use of a homely comparison) than the domestic arrangement of every well-regulated household; in which the President of the Board of Control represents the master, and the Court of Directors the mistress,—both having separate duties, and taking the management of the department which properly belongs to each. In this view of the case, it is clear that the business of India can be efficiently conducted in England only by the agency of functionaries who, having served an apprenticeship in India, have a competent knowledge of all the complicated peculiarities belonging to that country; and Parliament has, no doubt, acted wisely in restricting the election of a certain number of Directors to men of experience. It would not interest the public to know the process by which the business is conducted between the two Boards, but, according to the evidence adduced before the

Committee of the House of Commons, the separation of the President of the Board of Control from the working department of Leadenhall Street does entail a measure of delay and irresponsibility where they ought not to exist; but the system cannot well be changed in the present form of the Home Department.

While the East-India Company existed as a trading body, the Court of Directors took a high position among the mercantile communities of this great city, and even since their occupation is gone, they seem unwilling to divest themselves of the idea that they are a very important branch of the city corporations, and flatter themselves that, instead of being a Board of administration like any other Board of Government, they are to a certain extent an independent body. The mask, however, is being torn off every day. When the Earl of Ellenborough said, "While President of the Board of Control, I governed India," he only spoke the truth. When Lord Broughton told a Committee of the House of Commons that "He made the Afghan war, the Court of Directors had nothing to do with it," he only

spoke the truth. When Sir Charles Wood stated in his place in the House, that "No doubt the Ministers were responsible for the Government of India," he only spoke the truth. And if the present President of the Board of Control were to say "L'Etat c'est moi," he would but speak the truth. Indeed it has been lately stated in Parliament, that the Court of Directors were not only unconsulted in regard to the Persian war, but that the expedition was ordered from home without their assent. Shall it be said, then, that the Court of Directors are nobody,—far from it,—they conduct the affairs entrusted to them with zeal and integrity; they exercise the result of their experience with candour and honesty, and not unfrequently with boldness, in offering their opinions to the Ministers of the Crown, so much so that it is said they have even placed their personal liberty in jeopardy by resisting measures incompatible with what they deemed their duty and their honour. By the Act of 1854, they have been deprived of the most valuable portion of their patronage, of which a large share was also enjoyed by the President of the Board of Control, and in return the Court have

had their salaries increased by two hundred a year each,—a paltry recompense for the sacrifice required of them.

If my view of the position of the Court of Directors be correct, whence all this outcry of neglect of India on their part, and of avidity for revenue and new territory? Has it ever entered into the heads of those who make these accusations, that neither the Directors nor the East-India proprietors have ever been, or can be, benefited by such measures? Have not the Presidents of the Board of Control, the Ministers of the Crown, proclaimed their responsibility for acts of omission and commission, and is it not notorious that the Court of Directors have on more than one occasion stood both between the Minister of the Crown and the Governor-General, to protect the rights of the Natives of India? As for the Court of Proprietors, the power of that body was virtually extinguished in 1834, and it cannot stand beyond 1874. Meanwhile it walks the City, the ghost of a substance once real and influential, but no longer so. Does the public still require to be told that the only legitimate and effective mode of obtaining redress on

any question of complaint is through Parliament?

It is supposed that there is already a growing disposition on the part of Ministers to set aside the Court of Directors altogether and to act on their own responsibility, notwithstanding the recent act by which the composition of the body of Directors has been so completely changed and the Ministers so entirely identified in all the acts of the Indian Government. The necessity for two separate establishments for the Home Government is not apparent. There are those living who will probably see, in a few years, this anomaly extinguished, when the President of the Board of Control, as First Lord, shall assume his seat at the head of an Indian Board, comprising an adequate number of practical lords, as is the case at the Admiralty, through whom, as at present, the Government of India might be conducted.\* Whenever such

\* There is, in such a case, one condition, however, which seems imperative; namely, that once in office, the members should not be liable to removal but by impeachment; otherwise their utility as independent counsellors would be lost. After a fixed number of years, each should be entitled to retire on a pension; and if thought advisable, the Crown might render that retirement imperative.

a Board is established, it should be filled, as in the case of other professional bodies,—namely, the Church, the Law, the Army, and the Navy,—by a certain number of those who had served their apprenticeship in the service, and had gone through it; and be precluded from engaging in other business than that for which they will be paid. Nor is this an unreasonable suggestion, when the magnitude of the task of supervision over the numerous departments of each of the several local governments is considered, with their vast extent and population, each of which has to control nations wholly distinct from one another in language, habits, and in their moral and religious institutions. In such a Board, it is to be hoped that a portion of military officers of Indian experience will always be found, to form a department like that of the Horse Guards, consisting of military officers and clerks accustomed to all the details of that branch of the service; for which duties it is hardly reasonable to expect that civilians, however great their talents, zeal, and integrity, can be so competent. Surely a standing army of three hundred thousand men, composed of different

nations, merits some such supervision, especially as its organization is for ever changing. At the period when this anticipated alteration occurs in the India Board, the members composing it should be liberally remunerated. This, together with their new titles, would give them a status in the Government and in society, which, with their present inadequate salaries, and their long, painful, and humiliating canvass among the East-India Proprietors, it is impossible they should enjoy. India requires representation, and if she cannot have it in the Houses of Parliament, she is entitled to it in the Home Government. Time was when a sort of representation for India existed in the Court of Proprietors and in the Court of Directors, but the influence and independence of both have ceased to exist, and it is essential for the well-being of the people, and the stability of our Government in that quarter, that it should be restored in some shape or other. There are many reasons why this representation cannot exist in the Houses of Parliament. The members have not, as in the West Indies, any concerns in colonial estates, and even if they had, they would not represent the people, but

merely their own properties and English interests. The only legitimate advocates for the nations of India are those few members in both Houses of Parliament who have been in the country, and some of the Court of Directors themselves.

The present peaceful disposition of the Natives ought not to lull us into a conviction of our security in that quarter of the globe.

The several modes by which the Natives have corrected abuses, or have got rid of tyrannical masters are familiar to them. None is more common and so effectual as to withdraw from Government altogether by the process of the "Walsa" or gatherings, as practised in Mysore, and as before described in p. 68. We have seen the inhabitants of the populous city of Benares, resisting an infringement of their local privileges, by the imposition of a house-tax without consulting them, quit their homes and live for several weeks in the open fields, stopping all intercourse with the town, and obtaining universal sympathy throughout the district. We have witnessed a similar insurrection in Bareilly on a like occasion, which

cost much bloodshed. We have witnessed a general disaffection pervading the whole of our Native army of Madras, which commenced by the massacre of the European portion of the garrison of Vellore; and we have seen partial plots of a similar nature in other parts. It was often said by one of the wisest of our Indian Legislators (the late Lord Metcalfe), that we sit on a volcano, not knowing when it may burst forth and overwhelm us. We have, however, more to apprehend from revolutions commencing with peaceful withdrawal from our Government, than from the outbreaks of Native princes, who, for the most part, are not sufficiently popular with their subjects, and have no adequate resources to combat successfully against our gigantic power.

The re-organization of the Home Government need not disturb the existing system abroad, which, on examination, will be found to contain the elements of an administration well calculated to endure, and to ensure every day more and more the prosperity of the people. The maxim of the medical profession seems applicable to the existing systems of the civil and military departments in India, namely,—

to "let well alone," and to change nothing but the name till necessity demands it.

Having adverted to the scrutiny which the East-India Company's Government undergoes, it seems but fair to advert to the ordeal to which the Directors were lately submitted, when Parliament called on them to lay before it in what way they had dispensed their patronage, which was, in reality, the personal remuneration for their services, and was as much their private property as the guinea for every working day they attend the Court. That disclosure had the effect of shutting the mouths of those who anticipated a triumphant proof of abuse, not to say of corruption. I imagine there are few public men, either in this or any other country, who could have exhibited a more honourable testimony of liberal distribution of private property for public purposes than did the return which was then laid before Parliament.

It is alike honourable to the Directors,—present and past,—to be able to point to such lists as are here appended of the great men who have owed to them their first nomination to the service, and afforded them opportunities

of distinguishing themselves and adding to the national honour and reputation.

As an instance of the high estimation in which the Indian service was held so far back as 1827, we find the Minister of the day, Mr. Canning, at a public dinner given to Sir John Malcolm on the 13th June of that year, eulogizing the officers of that service in these words :—

“ There cannot be found in the history of Europe the existence of any monarchy which, within a given time, has produced so many men of the first talents in civil and military life as India has first trained for herself, and then given back to their native country.\*

*List of Officers of the Indian Civil Service selected for employment by the Government of England.*

1. Sir G. Anderson, Governor of Mauritius and of Ceylon.
2. Sir G. Clarke, Commissioner for Settlement of Cape Boundaries, permanent Secretary of Board of Control.
3. Sir F. Curry, Government Nominee in the Court of Directors.
4. The Honourable Mount-Stuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay.

\* Kaye's Life of Sir J. Malcolm.

5. Right Honourable Sir H. Ellis, Secretary to President of Board of Control, Clerk of the Pells, Member of the Embassy to China, Ambassador Extraordinary to Persia, Ambassador to Brazil, and Member of the Board of Control.
6. Sir James Higginson, Governor in the West Indies and Mauritius.
7. John Hutt, Esq., Governor of Western Australia.
8. Right Honourable Holt McKenzie, Member of the Board of Control.
9. Right Honourable Sir John McNeil, Ambassador in Persia.
10. Right Honourable Lord Metcalfe, Governor of Jamaica and Governor-General of Canada.
11. Sir Charles Trevelyan, Under-Secretary of the Treasury.
12. W. Strachey, Esq., Précis-writer in Foreign Office.
13. P. Willoughby, Esq., Government Nominee in the Court of Directors.

*Besides three Engineer Officers :—*

- The late Lieutenant-Colonel Irving, C.B., Superintendent of Government Docks.  
 Lieutenant-Colonel Forbes, Superintendent of the Mint, at the Tower. •  
 Lieutenant-Colonel Jervis, Superintendent of Map Department at the War Office.

*List of Military Officers who have received honours for public service, and have filled high Civil Offices.*

- † 1. Lieutenant-Colonel Sir J. B. N. Campbell.
- †\* 2. The late Lieutenant-Colonel Sir James R. Carnac.
- † 3. The late Major-General Sir Barry Close.

- \*4. Lieutenant-General Sir Mark Cubbon.
- +\*5. Lieutenant-Colonel Sir H. Lawrence.
- \*6. The late Lieutenant-General Sir John Littler.
- +\*7. Lieutenant-General Sir John Low.
- +\*\*8. The late Major-General Sir John Malcolm.
- +9. The late Colonel Sir J. Kinneir McDonald.
- +\*10. The late Major-General Sir William Morison.
- \*\*11. The late Sir Thomas Munro.
- +12. The late Lieutenant-General Sir William Nott.
- +13. The late Major-General Sir D. Ochterlony.
- +14. Lieutenant-General Sir James Outram.
- \*15. Lieutenant-General Sir George Pollock.
- +\*\*16. The late Sir Henry Pottinger.
- †+17. Lieutenant-Colonel Sir H. Rawlinson.
- +18. Colonel Sir Justin Shiel.
- +19. Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Henry Willock.
- +20. Colonel Sir Claude Wade.
- ‡ 21. Major-General Sir H. R. Vivyan.

\*\* Governors or Civil Commissioners of Government.

\* Members of Council.

† Representatives at Foreign Native Courts.

‡ Government Nominee in the Court of Directors.

Nor can I omit to include some of the names of those who so greatly distinguished themselves in the late war while serving in the Turkish army, such as—

Colonel Ballard,  
Colonel Cadell,  
General Cannon,

Colonel A. Lake,  
Colonel Nasmyth,  
Captain Thompson,

besides others who obtained honours and brevet rank for their services under Lieutenant-General Sir R. Vivyan.\*

\* *In addition to these there stand in the India Army List officers who have received the Military Orders of the Bath :—*

- 10 Generals.
- 12 Lieutenant-Generals.
- 52 Major-Generals.
- 35 Colonels.
- 32 Lieutenant-Colonels.
- 2 Majors.
- 2 Superintending Surgeons.

166

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*Foreign Orders for Afghan War :—*

- 11 Major-Generals.
  - 8 Colonels.
  - 10 Lieutenant-Colonels.
  - 1 Captain.
  - 2 Physician-Generals.
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32

## PART II.—GOVERNMENT IN INDIA.

It may be well imagined that the immediate control over millions of subjects, spread over so wide a surface as that of our territory in India, must be distributed among several authorities possessing extensive powers. Hence we find the Governor-General of all India, directing the great political machine, and aided by a Legislative Council, framing general laws for the whole of India, or reviewing, revising, and sanctioning special laws or regulations for the local administrations of the empire. The Governor-General's Legislative Council consists of the Commander-in-Chief in India and nominees or representatives of the minor Governments (which have to be described), and a legal member appointed by the Home authorities.

The minor Governments consist of a Governor and Council at Madras and at Bombay; a Lieutenant-Governor, without a council, for Lower Bengal; and one for the North-west Provinces; the two latter nominated by the Governor-

General for the time being, subject to the approval of the Home authorities : besides which, there are Commissioners for the Government of the Punjab, Oude, Nagpoor, and Mysore, under the direct control of the Supreme Government ; and Commissioners for Sind and Sattara, under the Bombay Government.

To each of the Governors, ruling, respectively, over twenty-two millions of subjects in Madras, and eleven millions in Bombay, the Councils attached consist of the local commander of the forces, and two members of the civil service. These Governments are under specific codes of regulations, which have been accumulating for the last hundred years, but which, within the last twenty-five or thirty, it has not been found expedient to extend to the several tracts of territory that have during the latter period fallen into our hands. All the Governments are required to keep diaries of their proceedings (a rule that extends to the representatives at Native courts), which are transmitted periodically to higher authorities. Those of the Governors are transmitted to England in duplicate ; those of Lieutenant-Governors or Commissioners to the Governor-General in council, who transmits

their proceedings to England with any comments he deems necessary. It has always appeared to me, that where the Governors and Commanders-in-chief of the minor Presidencies are selected by the Ministers at home, without reference to their previous knowledge of India, the association of experienced members of the civil service with them is a wholesome measure, more especially as these members are required to record the reason of their dissent from any step which the Governor may think proper to carry out on his own responsibility. An Indian Governor can hardly do wrong, without being warned of the probable consequence by his council, and hence it rarely happens that he acts in opposition to it. The patronage of all civil appointments, both in the civil branches of the army and in military commands, belongs to the Governor; while nominations to the staff, in which the discipline of the army is concerned, are left to the Commander-in-chief of each Presidency; and as it seldom happens that either of these high authorities has had any previous connection with the localities to which he is attached, the patronage is, according to certain regulations and qualifications, pretty fairly dis-

tributed. The members of council are elected by the Court of Directors, and their names submitted to the President of the Board of Control, whose approval is requisite.

Thus, it seems, from the passing of Mr. Pitt's bill in 1784, the heads of the civil and military Governments in India have been nominees of the Crown, aided, in duties with which they were previously unacquainted, by councils selected from the civil branch of the service, the members of which are bound by their oaths of office to give disinterested advice, consistent with their experience and judgment.

No one thinks of calling such a Board a double Government; but in reality, the Home Government, since the year 1834, has been virtually not very dissimilar whenever the president chose to adopt the counsel of the Court of Directors, with this difference, that there are two sets of officers to perform the same duty, and the Court of Directors are ostensibly the agents of measures which they adopt under permission, and issue orders of which as a body they are in some cases wholly ignorant.

When the Home Government is assimilated to the Indian Governments abroad, and the

Houses of Parliament and the English public become better acquainted with the interests of that country and their own, then,—and not till then,—will the resources of India be fully developed, and its value properly appreciated.

## CHAP. IX.—CONCLUSION.

### PART I.—WHAT IS TO BECOME OF THE PEOPLE ?

THE late Sir Thomas Munro, when Governor of Madras, left on record a minute, dated 31st December, 1824, in which he emphatically demands,—

“ WHAT IS TO BECOME OF THE PEOPLE ?

“ I require it to be distinctly avowed whether they are to be raised or lowered. Are we to be satisfied with merely securing power, and protecting the inhabitants, or are we to endeavour to raise their character, and to render them worthy of filling higher situations in the management of their country, and of devising plans for its improvement.”

It is more than thirty years since these sentiments were promulgated, and the question has at length been decided that the advancement of education, and the more extensive employment of the Natives in the management

of their country, is our wisest policy. The revolution in the condition of our own subjects of nearly one hundred and thirty millions of souls has already commenced, and is advancing as rapidly as can be expected. To change the character of such masses, to render them useful for the benefit of the State, must be gradual yet still progressive, and the philosopher and statesman will watch the progress with intense interest.

Let us look back only to the short period that has elapsed since the sagacious statesman alluded to recorded the sentence with which I have headed this chapter, and see what has since been accomplished. During that period the dormant population seems to have been aroused. The Government in India, freed from internal warfare, has had time, and has availed itself of the opportunity, for raising the character of the people, and elevating them by degrees to the position which, from their energy and intellectual capacity, they are entitled to hold in the social system of their native land. The stupendous hydraulic works for irrigation and inland navigation; the commencement of railways of vast extent; the

introduction of steam on the great rivers ; the diffusion of education in all its branches, literary, scientific, and practical ; have already raised the people to a condition to render them efficient for all departments of the State. Who could have predicted, when that memorable minute was written, that within thirty years an Indian civilian, now Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, should pronounce "the Native agency to be the foundation of our judicial system;" or that a Secretary of the India House should give it as his opinion, that "the Natives of India were competent to fill the highest offices of the State?" Who could have foretold that, within that short period, we should see Indian mechanics and navvies constructing railroads, and fulfilling all the duties of engineers, stokers, station-masters, and clerks, and even of directors of those complicated establishments? Least of all could we have anticipated, that they should construct electric telegraphs, and take their place as the station-clerks, to regulate the wires over thousands of miles, of those lightning conductors of intelligence. So much for our own subjects. Let us now look a little farther, and ask what is to

become of the other forty or fifty millions of people, the subjects of the two hundred petty, and great Principalities, with whom we are connected by treaties, more or less stringent, in regard to their dependence on our irresistible power. The imbecility of the Native rulers, and the practically vicious systems of their administrations, have led to their own destruction, and to the gradual absorption of their territories into our dominions. Our own system has, in spite of some errors and deficiencies, contrasted favourably with that of the neighbouring Native States, and has reconciled our subjects to a rule which, notwithstanding its superior advantages of security of life and property, has had a tendency to elevate the lower classes, but to degrade the upper and more influential. This contrast of systems has, in a great measure, been a main cause of our strength, and as long as ill-governed Native Principalities exist, so long will that species of strength continue, and will necessarily diminish as their extinction takes place. But it can neither be a just nor an honourable policy, to foster bad government among our neighbours for the mere sake of acquiring a factitious popularity at home.

Nor will it be consistent with our duty or with humanity, to withhold and discourage among the Native Principalities, ere they eventually sink into our arms from inanition, or provoke us into war by mad presumption, those advantages of education and advancement which will eventually take place when their subjects form a portion of that universal empire in India to which at present it seems our destiny to attain. On the contrary, whenever opportunities occur by these States falling into the hands of minors, it should be our policy, I conceive, to become the guardians of their rights,—to undertake the administration of their countries, and to introduce such regulations for the advancement of the intellectual condition of their subjects, as to render them eventually fit agents to conduct the administration under their young Native Chiefs, when they come of age, on the same judicious principles in which they and their people will have been trained. Wherever this benevolent measure has been practised, as in Travancore, Sattara, Nagpoor, and Cutch, we have succeeded in introducing good government, which has been continued after the princes themselves

were intrusted with the reins of authority. It failed in Mysore, because a Native minister, and the persons by whom he was surrounded, found it their interests to encourage the prince in the indulgence of idle and futile pursuits, instead of attending to business, and preparing him for the important duties of an Asiatic Sovereign, which would not have been the case under European guardianship. We were, no doubt, justified by our treaty with Mysore, and perhaps with Oude, in taking on ourselves the administration of these countries under the circumstances of their misrule. It is, however, an open question how far we are justified in extinguishing the dynasties in case they should have sons, whether lawfully begotten or adopted. The introduction of a system of government and European supervision, as is the case at Mysore at present, tends to enrich the coffers of the protected State, and to maintain a certain aristocracy, possessing beneficial influence, inasmuch as they fill the principal posts in the Government, both as civil ministers and military officers. This gives them an interest in the welfare of, and begets a loyalty towards, the superior State, which

upholds the existence of their Native rulers. I shall not enter into the question of rejecting the right of succession of adopted heirs to these principalities, who are not feudatory chiefs, dependent on the will of Sovereignties to which we may have succeeded by conquest, as in the case of the Jagirdars of the Peshwa, the Rajah of Sattara, and other lords paramount, because such estates really become liable to resumption on their decease, and require new patents to be granted to their successors, whether legitimately begotten or adopted according to the forms of Hindu law. An impartial reference to such law, with regard to the succession to principalities, and sovereignties competent to form independent treaties, and to the practice of all former Governments, and our own till very lately, would decide that question in their favour. At all events, it can never be our policy to violate solemn engagements for the sake of any advantage whatsoever. The question for consideration, as regards the Native princes of India, is, whether it be our true interest to hasten the time when the rest of India may be subjected to our immediate rule, with the feeling of the whole of the upper

classes opposed to us, or to retain and foster as long as it be possible the existent Native Princes, and gradually raise the character of their government to an approximation with our own, and thus secure their aid in more ways than one, in case of future wars. We ought not to forget the assistance which both the Mysore and the Hyderabad Governments rendered us in the two last Mahratta wars, by bodies of efficient troops, furnished at the moment of exigency, and kept up in time of peace,—nor the pecuniary aid which Oude has supplied, when our coffers were exhausted, and our credit at a low ebb, in similar emergencies. It is the tendency of our auxiliary alliances to increase the wealth of the subsidized states, and to place at our disposal their military, and in many cases their pecuniary resources. The maintenance of the troops to be furnished by these states in time of need should at all times be required to be kept up in a state of efficiency, and be ready for service; a policy which has not been overlooked in the supervision of such military contingents by European officers, sufficient only in number to insure their discipline and fidelity,

without degrading the chiefs who command them.

Whenever our regular army is called on to quit our own boundaries, whether in China, Afghanistan, Persia, or elsewhere, these contingents, under their European leaders, will always be available to join our regular forces left at home, and to take the place of those temporarily withdrawn, without additional expense or the necessity of increasing our own army.

My own conviction is, that by insuring good Government to the Native States, judiciously introduced, we shall add more to our moral and political strength than by their extinction ; a conviction which has forced itself upon my mind after a long and deliberate consideration of the subject, and after having passed a great part of my life in official intercourse with the Ministers of several Native Courts,—a conviction which, it is my satisfaction to know, accords with that of some of the wisest Statesmen which India has produced.

## PART II.—WILL RUSSIA INVADE INDIA ?

IN this epitome of the present condition of our Indian Empire it may be expected I should say a few words on the actual state of our foreign relations in that quarter. If the ambition of Russia leads her to look to the conquest or even invasion of India, it would behove her not only to regard the present position of England in the East, and her own position at home, but to study the geography and the history of the intermediate nations between her and the object of her desire. She should also make herself well acquainted with the obstacles presented by rugged mountains, and a broad desert lying between them and India proper. She should consider the nature of the climate, where our own European soldiers suffer so severely without the exposure incidental to campaigns; and last, not least, let her reflect how her armies are to be recruited or supplied with food and

stores, at so great a distance from her own country. Let her be reminded that, though India has suffered frequent invasions during the last three thousand years, yet, that her territorial ramparts have never changed, and, that Hindus, Greeks, Mahomedans, and Scythian or Tartar hordes, have one and all had to pass the gorges of the Sulimany range, before crossing the Indus at Attock, whence they entered the Punjab. There they had to encounter the hardy Mountaineers of Cashmere and the Himalaya, and passing over the fertile district of Jalender, found before them a desert, impassable for an army capable of protecting itself. Hence they were compelled to keep close to the Himalaya range, for the sake of water and forage, along a narrow slip of from thirty to forty miles wide; till, after a march of more than a hundred miles, they came to the plain of Panipat, where they had to encounter the army of India.

It was after the Tartar horde under Batu, the nephew of Chengiz Khan, who, in the first half of the thirteenth Century, laid in ashes the City of Moscow, and, in a few years, having penetrated into Poland and Hungary, enslaved

Russia, that a portion of the same race, spreading over Asia, drove from their thrones thirteen of the Sovereigns of Transoxania and Tooran, who found an asylum at the Court of Dehli. It was in the latter half of the thirteenth Century that these successful warriors directed their efforts against the Indian Empire. Eight different attempts were made between A.D. 1283 and 1305 by those barbarians, numbering from sixty thousand to two hundred thousand horsemen in each campaign. Once or twice they penetrated to within forty miles of the capital, when they were met by the experienced soldiers of the Empire, and driven back with great slaughter. In their last campaign, finding their retreat through the Punjab cut off, they ventured to cross the desert by Bhickanere to Tolamba, near Bhawalpore, when fifty-six thousand men, with their cattle, left their bones to bleach on those inhospitable and parching sands.

History will inform Russia that the great conqueror Mahmood of Ghizny, with all Afghanistan and part of Persia at his command, was scarcely able to establish a Mahomedan

colony in Lahore, ere he died, after a reign of forty years devoted to that end. That afterwards, it occupied a full century and a half before the Mahomedans obtained possession of Dehli, and that another century elapsed ere they crossed the Vindayan range, and drank of the waters of the Nerbadda.

It is true that Tamerlane in the end of the thirteenth, that Baber in the middle of the sixteenth, and that Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Abdalli in the course of the last century, all entered Dehli, but on each of these occasions the power of the reigning monarch was usurped by factions engaged in civil wars, and the invaders were, one and all, invited and aided by traitors to their country. With the exception of Baber, the founder of the empire denominated in Europe that of the Great Mogul, none of these conquerors ventured to remain longer in India than just to sack the capital, and return laden with booty. No foreign enemy can calculate on such a chance under the British rule. If Russia, however, should seriously contemplate an invasion of India, she must first possess herself, as others have done,

of the resources and the cordial support of the nations through which she will have to pass on her march onwards, and on her retreat homewards. She must bring under her subjection all the countries lying between her own frontier and the mountains of Solyman, whether she advance by the route of Persia,\* or the more difficult approach by Khiva and Bamian. This will occupy time, and the eyes of England will not be shut to the danger which threatens her; and even, after all, should she pass the mountains of India, she will encounter the same race that stormed the heights of the Alma, that dared to charge her batteries at Balaklava, that repulsed her brave

\* Persia, by an act of perfidy towards an ally in 1827, virtually forfeited her claim to the confidence of England, and shortly after was induced to forego her title by treaty to the *defensive* alliance which then subsisted between those two powers. Since then the influence of England in Persia has gradually declined, and she has been as gradually subsiding into a dependency of Russia. If the latter should prosecute the project ascribed to her of extending her dominion towards India, Persia can no longer remain neutral, but will have to choose between the renewal of her defensive alliance with Great Britain or her hostility.

soldiers on the heights of Inkerman, and that laid in ruins Sebastopol. Those stalwart heroes will be supported by more numerous hosts than Russia can bring into the field of as gallant foes as she encountered in the campaign of 1853-4, in the provinces along the line of the Danube, at Silistria, and at Kars. She will meet with Indian warriors trained to arms from their youth upwards, inured to the climate, and living all their lives in the tented field. She has felt in the late war what it was to supply reinforcements of men, cattle, food, and military stores, at a distance from her magazines, though fighting on her own soil. She has been taught to respect the *disciplined* troops of Asia, whom she had never before encountered. She will have to calculate how her more northern soldiers will suffer, and how they are to be reinforced at the distance they will be in India from their native land. No ; believe it not ! Russia is too well informed of the condition of India, of the obstacles, both moral and physical, she must expect to encounter there, as well as among the treacherous nations she will have to

pass through in her progress, for her to contemplate seriously so rash an undertaking as that which is generally ascribed to her. That she will not cease to strengthen her position on the Caspian, or give up her design in making use of Persia as an instrument to threaten the peace of Afghanistan and of India, is very probable; but that she will involve herself in a war with England before she is in a position to attack India with some surer prospect of success than is at present apparent, is not to be apprehended. The present emperor, at all events, after the experience he has gained in the late campaign, will direct his attention to the advancement of civilization among his own subjects rather than involve his country in wars which will assuredly end in the exhaustion of his strength in the East, leaving him exposed to more desperate conflicts than ever in the West.

With regard to India, I heartily subscribe to the following sentiments which I find in a late number of the *Calcutta Journal* :—

“ Let England work out her destiny. Let her govern India for the people, and as far as possible by the people,

and neither England nor India need fear Russia, nor, I will add, any other foreign foe.

“India’s dangers are in India, and not without.”

Let us beware, however, lest by injudicious measures and too hasty encroachments on prejudices held sacred among her subjects, our Government drive to desperation her teeming and brave population. Let us not calculate on keeping down insurrection by means of our European troops, in case our Native army become extensively disaffected; for at such a season we may find that those gallant soldiers who have gained for us an empire (the largest with the exception of China, of any in the universe), may be induced to sympathize with their suffering countrymen, and either withhold their services, or even worse, turn those arms against us which they have so faithfully wielded in our favour.

Such events are unlikely to take place as long as India continues to be ruled by those who have been brought up apprentices to the duty. It can only happen when she is no longer governed for her own people, but for the sole benefit of her foreign rulers.

Heaven grant that that day may never come! If it should, I venture to predict, in the words of our immortal bard, with a slight alteration:—

COME THE WHOLE NATIONS OF THE WORLD IN ARMS,  
AND WE WILL SHOCK THEM. NOUGHT SHALL MAKE US RUE,  
IF *INDIA* TO HERSELF DOETH STAND BUT TRUE!

THE END.

## POSTSCRIPT.

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NOTICE of the services of the late MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HENRY POTTINGER, Bart., G.C.B., under Her Majesty's Government, has accidentally been omitted at p. 238.

These services were : Commissioner and Minister Plenipotentiary during the Chinese war, and Governor of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope.







